

**AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF MADRAS GOVERNMENT  
PUBLICATIONS.**

—◆◆◆—  
**IN INDIA.**

**THE BOOK COMPANY**, Calcutta.

**THE BURMA BOOK CLUB (LTD.)**, 240-A, Merchant Street, Rangoon, Burma.

**BUTTERWORTH & CO. (LTD.)**, 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

**R. CAMBRAY & CO.**, Calcutta.

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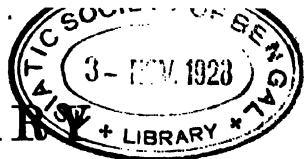
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**THE FEDERAL RUBBER STAMP CO.**, Penang.

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# THE DIARY

OF

# ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF  
THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

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**Volume XII**

MADRAS

PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS

PRICE, 3 rupees]

1928



10191

SLNO. 016685

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## INTRODUCTION.

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### I

This final instalment of the Diary covers a period of just over a year, from January 1760, to the diarist's death on January 12, 1761. But for the first two months of the year we have a record of ten days only ; and though from March 1 to September 24 the Diary runs without any material break, it there comes to an abrupt conclusion, and the notes of January 10 to 12 of the following year, recording Pillai Avargal's final illness are by another hand, probably that of his nephew. For the greater part of the present volume, the text on which the translation rests is no longer that of the Madras transcript, but that of the original Diary, unearthed by M. Singaravélou, now *Conservateur* of the Pondichery archives, to whom the editor is greatly indebted for much information and assistance. Nor can this work be concluded without cordially grateful acknowledgments of the help afforded by Mr. B. Venkatarama Ayyar, the editor's assistant in the Madras Record Office, in preparing the second half of the Diary for the Press.

For some years, as the patient reader will remember, the diarist had exhibited signs of failing health. At the beginning of 1760 he

had been confined to his house for a lengthy period, described variously as lasting two and four months. He was, it seems, suffering from pyorrhœa; and the dysentery which often follows in its train gradually outwore his strength. He was only in his fifty-second year when he died; but most probably the anxieties of the times, and the privations of the siege hastened his end. Sick and weary as he was, he can have had small desire to chronicle those last dismal months, in which the English squadron in defiance of the monsoon maintained its sleepless watch before Pondichery while Coote drew closer and closer his encircling lines. On October 6 a party from the squadron, commanded by Captain William Nowson and Lieutenant Isaac Ourry, cut out the *Hermione* and the *Baleine* from under the guns of the fortress, with the loss of five killed and sixteen wounded.<sup>1</sup> Next month the *Compagnie des Indes*, which had slipped away to Tranquebar in the hope of fetching up a store of provisions, was captured in the Tranquebar roads.<sup>2</sup> Early in December Coote opened his batteries. On the first day of the New Year a cyclone burst upon besiegers and besieged alike. Many persons were killed;

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<sup>1</sup> *Military Consultations*, October 11 and 18, 1760.

<sup>2</sup> Letters from Coote and Haldane of November 7 and 10, *ap. Military Consultations*, November 9 and 13, 1760.

four of the English ships were dismasted, and three were driven ashore while three foundered ; and the tents, huts and stores of the English army were damaged or destroyed.<sup>1</sup> But the squadron reassembled under jury-masts ; the batteries reopened ; and no French vessels appeared to break the blockade. Within the walls provisions had become so scarce that the soldiers' rations had been cut down to half a measure of rice, a loaf made of palmyra fruit, and 8 ounces of pounded maggoty biscuit every other day, with an issue of meat—camel, horse-flesh, or whatever could be got—once a week.<sup>2</sup> At last, four days after Ranga Pillai had been carried to the burning-place, Coote's grenadiers replaced the French guard at the Valudâvûr Gate and the English flag was hoisted over Fort Louis.

But though the diarist could not chronicle the final disasters which swept away Dupleix' dreams of national greatness and his own hopes of power and wealth, yet he remains the only person who shows us the beginning of the end through Indian eyes. Naturally enough we hear but little of the military aspect of the siege. Tactical move and counter-move have no place in the old *Courtier's*

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<sup>1</sup> Letters from Coote of January 2 and 5, *ap. Military Consultations*, January 4 and 7, 1761.

<sup>2</sup> Orme MSS., *Various*, 27, p. 52.



Diary. But he noted clearly enough the gradual spread of demoralisation, the mutual jealousies and suspicions of the leaders, the growing indiscipline of the rank and file, the insolence of the King's officers, the incompetence of the Company's servants, and the rising alarm of the Indian inhabitants as they saw the power in which they had trusted for protection failing even to protect itself.

One thousand seven hundred and sixty was indeed a year of misfortune at Pondichery. It opened with the decisive defeat of Wandiwash, which prepared the way for the siege. Through the earlier part of the year men were hoping against hope for the reappearance of d'Aché and his squadron from Mauritius ; but the only vessels that escaped the blockado of Admiral Steevens were the frigates that in October were cut out of the roads, and the *Compagnie des Indes*, which was converted into a floating battery to add to the sea-ward defences. From time to time rumours ran through the settlement, that the squadron had been heard of at Mahé or Tranquebar, and would appear in a few days at farthest ; but none of these had the least foundation in fact. One day late in March the French and Indian inhabitants thronged the beach to watch eight or ten vessels approaching from the southward, believing that d'Aché had come at last ;

but the ships proved to be only the English squadron. Again in July Lally heard that the English had hoisted the signal for a general action and inferred that French ships must be at hand ; but the long-shore wind brought no sounds of a cannonade to his anxious ears. Better still than the arrival of the squadron would be news from Europe of a victorious peace that would set matters in their old train, permit the rebuilding of dilapidated fortunes, and withdraw the control of the King's hated lieutenant-general ; but though the war had opened well enough for the French, its later stages were marked by persistent defeat in other regions as in India, and peace was not to come in time to save Pondichery from complete destruction.

Meanwhile an ever-growing pressure, financial and military, had to be faced ; nor was this facilitated by the dissensions reigning between the King's and the Company's representatives. Lally was to pay dearly for betraying his suspicions of Leyrit, the Governor, and yet leaving him still in office. It was generally believed (and probably with reason) that Leyrit exerted himself to prevent the success of Lally's schemes for raising money. Lally asserted that Leyrit had transformed his plan of levying money from the Councillors' prosperous dubashes into an

oppressive tax upon the poorer Indians, and drove the Governor from his ante-chamber with insult. The enmity extended naturally to Dubois, Lally's agent for finance; and stories were spread abroad that he was swindling the sepoys of their pay. Sore with defeat and impending ruin, both sides were eager to believe the worst of each other. Courtin's conduct, for instance, exhibits the violence of weak men in difficult circumstances. He quarrels first with Leyrit, then with Lally, and exposes himself to a humiliating insult from an officer of the *Régiment de Lorraine*. Râmalingam, who was acting as purveyor to the army, was beaten. The confusion of castes, which Ranga Pillai had long before lamented, grew worse; and his conservative mind was shocked by the sight of scavengers and Pariahs entering the Fort unchecked on horse-back. Violent attacks on Lally were posted in the public places. The annual festivities lapsed or were shorn of half their splendour. There was no bonfire this year on St. John's Eve, and even the King's name-day was meanly celebrated.

To supplement the military resources of the French the militia was embodied; even the Governor and Councillors were forced to serve; and a disorderly parade took place, at which the Governor displayed his military

inexperience, while the Company's servants refused to serve outside the Fort. Razâ Sâhib and the chief merchants, including the diarist, were obliged to accept responsibility for the pay of additional sepoys. At first this was only expected to last till d'Aché's squadron arrived ; but as time went on, and the ships did not appear, the obligation was continued ; a plan for dividing the cost among a larger number of persons fell through ; and Ranga Pillai was constantly vexed by the sepoys demanding their pay or sitting *dharna* at his doors.

Attempts were made to enlist on the side of the French the rising military talents of Haidar 'Alî. Ever since 1752 the Mysoreans had desired vengeance on Muhammad 'Alî for having broken his promise to deliver Trichinopoly into their hands. In the hope of getting the place they had contributed materially to the financial needs of Dupleix ; and now it was hoped to buy their support by the cession of Tyâgar and the promise of French help in their projected expansion southward when the English had been defeated. Noronha, Bishop of Halicarnassus, conducted the negotiations to a successful conclusion. A body of Mysoreans under Haidar's brother-in-law, evaded the detachment sent by Coote against it, and reached Pondichery. A ball

was given in honour of their arrival, but, according to the only writer who to my knowledge has described it, it was a dismal affair. The Mysoreans were unfavourably impressed by the scarcity of funds and the scarcity of food. They paid scant heed to the French authorities. Quarrels took place between the French and their new allies, who (Ranga Pillai notes) treated the French officers and people of the Government more like dogs than men ; and they speedily withdrew, resolute not to entangle themselves in a failing cause. A Maratha envoy likewise appeared upon the scene, but, beyond the flattery which he administered to the diarist, brought nothing useful or pleasant to the besieged.

While Lally was thus unable to find allies to support his cause, he was similarly hampered by a lack of money. As has been seen in the previous volume, the pressure had been severe ; but now it was severer still. Many pages of the Diary for 1760 are occupied with the lists that were drawn up, the assessments that could not be realized, the merchants and others who were kept in prison in order to oblige them to contribute. Even the diarist's nephew, Appâvu, was thus detained, though in his case it seems to have been rather to preserve an appearance of impartiality than to compel him to produce what he had not got.

But Ranga Pillai was obliged to make a further contribution, which he could only provide by borrowing. A certain amount was got together by these forced loans ; but it was not much. Pondichery had never been wealthy, save perhaps for those two fat years when Dupleix succeeded for a brief and transient moment in winning fortune to his side. Ever since the town had been steadily decaying. What riches there were were concentrated in the hands of a few Company's servants and their dubashes ; and on these sources Lally never succeeded in laying hands, much as he desired to. As a last resort, a committee was appointed by a great council of notables to collect what could be got from the European inhabitants. Some plate was collected and sent to the mint ; but here too no great resources were to be found. No one, Indian or European, was willing to lend money to a ruined Company.

Money and other valuables might be sent away or hidden. The last pages of Ranga Pillai's own Diary are concerned with the arrangements which he made to send some money and jewels belonging to his women-folk out of Pondichery to the Dutch settlement of Sadras, whither they were conveyed by the masula-boat carrying Robert Sloper, an English Company's servant who had been captured

at Fort St. David and who was now released on parole. Sloper or his servants doubtless were well rewarded for their complaisance. But grain and cattle could not be similarly disposed of. As food grew scarcer, we hear of supplies being commandeered; searches were made from house to house, and what was found was carried off. Under those growing discouragements—demands for money which could not be got, food scarce and dear with famine in near prospect, and the approaching terror of a bombardment—an exodus naturally set in. The previous forced loans had driven many away. Their renewal, and the well-grounded fear that poverty itself would be no certain protection against demands backed by threats of imprisonment, must have made all Indians anxious to quit Pondichery, save the very few, such as Ranga Pillai himself, whose hopes and reputation were inextricably bound up with the fate of the French. And indeed from the point of view of their Governors, their departure was in the circumstances no loss. It meant the fewer mouths to feed and consequently a few days' longer defence, which might just enable relief to come in time. In this respect Pondichery was worse off than its rival Madras. At Pondichery Fort Louis lay surrounded by the city, and it was impossible to limit the

defence to the citadel; whereas at Madras Fort St. George, ever since the evil days of 1746, stood alone, and when a year earlier Lally had tried to take it, the Company's Government had made no attempt whatever to defend the Black Town, but had concentrated their defence upon the Fort, and had had to lay in stores of provisions for the garrison alone. But when danger of imprisonment and certainty of starvation faced the Indian inhabitants of Pondichery, including the people from the villages outside the walls driven within by fear of Coote's cavalry, they found escape difficult. They feared to take the roads passing by the English camp, lest they should be plundered of what they could carry off with them, and when they attempted to pass southwards, they found the river unfordable. Nevertheless by one way or other most of the dwellers in Pondichery had trickled out of the place before Coote opened his batteries or Ranga Pillai had laid down the pen.

## II

Viewed as a whole, this Diary which covers almost a quarter of a century is a curiously mixed document. No one will ever read it for its own sake. Yet it has great historical importance. Its period was



singularly critical; and the struggle which at first brought Ranga Pillai killa and jaghir, then made him renter of a wide tract of the Carnatic, and at last ruined him, was no less than this: whether India was to be dominated from Paris or London. During the greater part of these twenty-five years, the momentous struggle was being fought out in South India and upon those sullen waters which roll unceasingly on the pale, palm-fringed sands of the Coromandel Coast. Of the men and circumstances of the time Ranga Pillai was a close and interested observer; and he was the only Indian observer whose views are directly, positively known to us. No doubt there were many whose memoirs would have been more precious. Chandâ Sâhib's thoughts upon Dupleix, Yusuf Khân's opinions on the campaigns of Lally, would have revealed important aspects of the conflict. But they could hardly have displayed more fully and closely the Indian attitude towards events which were so deeply to influence the course of modern Indian history. For a considerable time the diarist was the foremost Indian merchant in an essentially mercantile community, and the main intermediary between the Governor and the Indians whom he governed. His business it was to know all that was going forward in the Indian quarter, to learn the

news that the bankers' agents received from their correspondents, to watch the course of trade and feel the pulse of sentiment. For a considerable time too he played the part of Foreign Secretary to the Governor, translating letters or getting them translated, suggesting appropriate answers, settling the minutiae of Oriental etiquette, and himself corresponding with distant ministers. He belonged too to a family which had been peculiarly honoured by the French authorities. Two members of it, Nainiya Pillai and Guruva Pillai, had in turn occupied Ranga Pillai's office of Chief Dubash; and the latter had visited France, to complain of injustice received from Hébort, the Governor, and had there received not only redress but also the ribbon of St. Michel. He was then for a considerable number of years the foremost Hindu resident of Pondichery, better informed on political matters than any other. We may then infer that his Diary probably contains more authentic detail of a political nature than that which any other Indian at Pondichery could have kept. For instance it records the contents of many letters which were addressed to the Governor by the Country powers, and which passed through the diarist's hands.

Secondly Ranga Pillai is an exact and accurate witness when he speaks to what

passed within his own knowledge. It is true that he often fills pages with matter of a different nature. Many of his statements are repetitions of mere bazaar rumour. But even these are recorded in all probability accurately enough, and, however false they may be in fact, do give us the actual gossip of the place as it passed from tongue to tongue, and enable us to judge how the leading events of the time appeared in Indian eyes.

Thirdly the Diary gives us here and there—it would have been better reading had it done so oftener—curious little vignettes which enable us to visualise the past. For instance in the present volume we see the Governor and Council following the coffin of M. Barthélemy in due funeral procession, but whispering and laughing together as they went over the false news, just received, that Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madras, had been taken prisoner. Another instance, relating to a more notable figure, is the description of how Dupleix, on the march in January, 1748, against Fort St. David, listened to the signal guns from Pondichery announcing that the English squadron was in sight and that he must return, and then jumping from his horse clenched his fists and stamped upon the ground with disappointment. Leyrit too appears in the course of these pages with

great clearness—a solemn man hardly ever condescending to make a joke, overconscious of his dignity and importance, engrossed in his private interests, and hurt in these two most sensitive points by Lally's sarcasms and ill-success. Lally too, the passionate head-long Irishman, quick to condemn, incapable of hiding the feelings of the moment, and expecting everything to go of itself with European regularity, despising the Company's servants, who were nevertheless to bring him gagged to the *Place de Grève* and gloat over his last agonies, appears as the tragic figure he indeed was, destined to lead his followers to defeat. Behind these leaders stand the crowd of Company's servants, guided blindly by their dubashes, constantly watching for *doucours*, listlessly executing their duties, and ignorant of the language and customs of the city which they had created and in which they held the foremost places.

This was of course in no way peculiar. The same conditions, the same ignorance, the same vices, were to be found in the sister-settlements, southwards at Negapatam and northwards at Madras. To Ranga Pillai these things were things of course. They aroused in him no anger, no sense of slighted nationality, no feelings of injustice, no desire to remove himself, his family and wealth to some

region where he would be governed by men of his own race and language. Ignorance merely made the French easier task-masters, for they were the easier to deceive ; and their other vices were to be found in plenty at the purely Indian courts. Ranga Pillai preferred to remain where he was. Besides, so deep an impression had been made on the Indian mind by the success of Dupleix that it seemed impossible that the tide of French luck had really turned. Their reverses were long reckoned merely as the efflux of a wave. The ground lost would surely be recovered by the next.

But the clearest figure of the Diary is that neither of French leader nor of French subordinate, but of Ranga Pillai himself, both when robed in gown and turban, and girt with sword and dagger, he passes in his palankin through the Fort Gate to pay his respects and report the city news to the Governor of the day, and when, his ceremonious garments cast aside, he sits at ease in his hall, giving audience and advice to his friends and followers. I suppose the first characteristic that strikes the European reader is the meticulous attention which he pays to omens, and his perpetual anxiety to make sure that his personal activities shall not run counter to the cosmic influences of the stars. So long as

every one observed the same set of rules, no one was at any particular disadvantage. But with the coming of Europeans who no longer regarded life as one long ritual and had come to disbelieve in the efficacy of astral conjunctions, the Indian was placed at a grave practical disadvantage, from delays which his beliefs imposed alike in the camp and in the cabinet, and from his inclination to bend his judgment to other than practical considerations.

Allied with this is the exaggerated respect which Ranga Pillai pays to matters of etiquette and custom. Any violation of established ceremonial shocks him. No good can come, he is sure, of treating the low-born with unaccustomed respect, or of employing any one in occupations for which he is by descent unqualified. The foundation of prosperity and good government is the due subordination of the castes. Further this tyranny of custom limited the scope within which the rational faculties of the mind could act. Novel expedient, innovation, reform, were things prohibited by his outlook upon life. A fair deduction from the Diary is that the Indian mind needed to be startled into life by contact with others entirely different from itself.

Outside the sphere of politics the French contributed little towards this revivifying contact. Like the other Europeans of that generation established in the East, they could see no half-way house between complete indifference and thorough proselytism. On the whole, like other Roman Catholic nations, they leaned towards the latter course, while the Protestant nations (except the Danes) inclined to the former. But even conversion in those days did not imply any great cultural contact. There was at Pondichery a considerable Indian Christian congregation; Ranga Pillai's uncle, the Chevalier Guruvappa, was a Christian;—but it remained essentially Indian in tone. Ranga Pillai himself, in spite of his constant intercourse with the leading Frenchmen of the place, had no tincture of French culture. He could speak French, he could, it seems, read French; but when he wished to draw up a document in that language, he did not depend on his own knowledge, but employed others, like the watch-repairer Clegg. In his ordinary dealings with the Governor and Councillors, he employed that bastard Portuguese dialect, which lingered on in Malabar down to the present generation, and which in the eighteenth century was the normal medium of intercourse between one European nation

and another, and between all Europeans and Indians, on all the Eastern Coasts from Mozambique to Malacca, a barbarous *lingua franca* like the Hindustani of a modern port. The diarist's knowledge of the West, as innumerable references prove, was trivial and inaccurate, while of course Indian learning was not the business of his caste.

As against this he possessed a considerable store of practical knowledge and experience. He might know no language well but his own; but he had a rough and ready knowledge of several. He could interpret a Persian letter when it was read to him; he could probably speak and write Telugu and Malayâlam, besides his French and Portuguese. His mind was a storehouse of diplomatic precedents; and he could tell with unfailing accuracy whose *vakîl* should receive *pân* from the Governor's own hand, and whose from that of an inferior, how far the Governor should go to meet an embassy from the Nawâb and with what salute presents from Poona or Hyderabad should be greeted. He was the standing authority on the customs and privileges of the castes of Pondichery, a matter of no small moment when an inadvertent permission allowing a marriage procession to pass along an unaccustomed street, or to use unauthorized insignia might provoke a riot



that would set the whole Indian quarter by the ears and perhaps lead to the temporary abandonment of the town by the washers, or the scavengers, or some other indispensable element of its population. Lastly he was a merchant of long experience, skilled in piece-goods, brown, bleached, dyed or printed, knowing to a cash how much the Company's merchants would give for the broad-cloth imported by the last ship, familiar with the over-varying exchange between rupees and pagodas, and ready to provide any article of Eastern produce that the Governor wanted for his private trade.

In the exercise of these duties Ranga Pillai evidently took great pride ; and in consideration of them he enjoyed a position of great dignity, though he failed to obtain the honour which he chiefly coveted, that of having the guard turn out with drums beating when he entered the Fort. He was chief of the Hindus in the town, and we may be sure he thought the more of his position because it was in a manner hereditary, and enabled him to maintain the rank and grandeur of his family. He celebrates the marriages of his daughters with extraordinary pomp, and secures a visit from the Governor and Councillors, for whom he provides proportionate gifts. He is resolved that his magnificence shall be spoken of

far and wide ; but his vanity here and elsewhere is less personal than ancestral. The severest blow that befell him in the whole course of his life was not his temporary supersession by Kanakarâya Mudali, because that might be and in fact was overcome ; not his extrusion from political business by Madame Dupleix, though that was bitterly resented ; not the death of his wife, though she was sincerely mourned ; but the destruction by Mysorean plunderers of the Choultry which his father had founded fifty years before. It had been spared by the Marathas in their great raid of 1740 ; the Muslim troops of Anwar-ud-dîn, and Nâsîr Jang had passed it by ; even the English had not touched it. But at last, in the middle of 1760, 'the beggarly Mysoreans' carried off and sold the pillars, beams, rafters, and the very doors of the Brahmans' houses, leaving the place empty and uninhabitable. Ranga Pillai did not live to see it, but within a twelve month the proud and dazzling *Gouvernement* which Dupleix had built had undergone the same fate, dismembered and sold piece-meal to adorn the palace which Muhammad 'Alî was about to build under the protection of the English guns.

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# ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

JANUARY 1760.

*Wednesday, January 2.*<sup>1</sup>—At one o'clock this morning, Tândava Chetti and five or six Kammâlas came and said, 'The procession of the God Vîrabhadra<sup>2</sup> which was omitted is now to be hold, and we have been sent to inform you of it.' I replied, 'Why do you interfere in this? Such things ought to be reported by the Nayinâr, and you have nothing to do with them. When the Vêdapuri Îswaran temple was demolished<sup>3</sup> during the English troubles in the year *Vibhava*,<sup>4</sup> M. Dupleix summoned me and said, "You and the St. Paul's priests are always at variance about this temple, and consequently you are unable to do what your religion enjoins. I have therefore ordered its demolition. As regards your other temples, you are at liberty to celebrate the usual festivals according to your religion."

*Thursday, January 3.*<sup>5</sup>—There was no council to-day.

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\* <sup>1</sup> 22nd Mârgali, Pramâdhi.

<sup>2</sup> A form of Siva much worshipped in South India. He appears robed in a tiger-skin and dripping with blood, at Elephanta and Ellora. He is said to have sprung from the mouth of Siva to drive men and gods from the horse-sacrifice of Daksha.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. v, p. 295, etc.

<sup>4</sup> 1748-1749.

<sup>5</sup> 23rd Mârgali, Pramâdhi.

M. Moracin, who was despatched to Bunder with troops, could not remain there, because it had been taken by the English, and went to Ganjam. But being unable to maintain himself there either, he departed, leaving 300 soldiers behind, who returned here to-day by a hired ship as they had been unable to get even *conjee* water to drink there.<sup>1</sup>

*Monday, January 7.*<sup>2</sup>—At seven o'clock this morning, I went to M. [Le] Verrier's<sup>3</sup> house. He advanced to meet me and embracing me, paid his joyful compliments. He then asked me to sit and said, 'Since my arrival here a month ago, I have been anxious to see you, although you were not. You have been an old friend of mine ever since M. Lenoir's time. Your measures to conquer Nâsir Jang and management of affairs in M. Dupleix' time, were praised and admired as far as Delhi, and awakened in me a desire of meeting you which has now been fulfilled. What can I say of the difference between the state of the town, the prosperity of the people, and the conduct of Governor and council in M. Lenoir's time and now? When, in M. Lenoir's time, it was

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. xi, p. 456 and n. 1 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> 27th Mârgaśīrṣī, Pramâdhi.

<sup>3</sup> He had long remained in charge of the factory at Surat; but was apparently superseded there by a Company's servant called Brompt. (*Lettres et Conventions*, p. 285). He came out as *commis* in 1726.

reported 1,500 looms were at work, it was ordered that they should be increased to 2,000 ; but now this large town has not even 100. What is the use of fighting if trade declines like this ? I have never seen or heard of such a state of things as prevails. You won great glory in M. Dupleix' time by conquering Nâsir Jang and managing affairs ; but in spite of this, a single error<sup>1</sup> has lost you the management of the country and has brought all this on you. You must be to blame.'—'True,' I replied ; 'but everything is the work of the times.' He continued, 'You are my old friend and as you served under M. Lenoir, you know everything, so I want to talk to you. Please don't avoid my company, but come every four or five days to talk with me. You have no equal in intelligence. M. Boyelleau has spoken to me about the mint affair, and I will discuss it in council. You need not urge me, for your affairs are as mine.' We conversed thus for about three hours. He then said that it was late and that he must attend the council, so I rose and thanked him. When I took leave, he accompanied me to the door, and offered me his compliments. I then came home.

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<sup>1</sup> I do not know to what he alludes.

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*Friday, January 11.*<sup>1</sup>—Europeans say to-day that M. Lally and M. Bussy have never agreed, that M. Lally has gone out to pacify the officers, that the Maratha horse have plundered the Poonamallee, Mylapore and Tiruppâchûr countries, and wounded Vrushabhânâdha Nayinâr (Appâji Nayinâr's younger brother), and that the camp is in great need of money.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *1st Tai, Pramâdhi.*

<sup>2</sup> The gap which follows this entry includes Lally's great defeat by Coote at Wandiwash.

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## MARCH 1760.

*Saturday, March 1.*<sup>1</sup>—I hear that the townspeople are in great fear owing to the rumour that six ships with powder and shot are on their way from Madras to attack Pondichery and that the English troops at Wandiwash have occupied places about Gingee, and are marching hither by Perumukkal killā.

I hear that M. Dupleix on behalf of the King, and M. Roth [?]<sup>2</sup> on behalf of the Company, have reached Mauritius from Europe, and that M. Lally has received a letter about this. Both Europeans and Tamils in the town are saying that he has announced this news.

*Sunday, March 2.*<sup>3</sup>—I hear to-day confirmation of the rumour of yesterday, that powder, shot and provisions are being laded at Madras, that the English troops at Wandiwash have surrounded and are attacking Perumukkal, and that their people who advanced as far as Valudâvûr and the adjacent places have occupied the Tindivanam country, on which our troops retreated from Mortândi Choultry to Kâttumêttu and Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry. The townspeople are in great panic.

<sup>1</sup> 22nd Mâsi, Pramâdhi.<sup>2</sup> Rôsu in the Madras transcript.<sup>3</sup> 23rd Mâsi, Pramâdhi.



To-day M. Lally sent M. Bazin, who has been acting as his *dîwân*, with the money he has hitherto made here, and a suitable letter and with instructions to take a ship for Europe belonging to the government of Negapatam or Tranquebar. Moreover the Chevalier de Crillon and one or two more of the King's men have gone with the wealth they have acquired here, intending to take ship at Negapatam along with M. Bazin who is going to Europe with the enormous wealth he has made. They are doing so lest something should happen when the ships arrive.

*Monday, March 3.*<sup>1</sup>—As some of the St. Paul's priests had set out with M. Bazin for Negapatam, the townspeople also—Christians, Lubbays and Tamils—are making preparations to go, getting 40 or 50 rupees at the mint in ready money in exchange for their goods, articles of silver, etc.

*Tuesday, March 4.*<sup>2</sup>—To-day's council decided that M. Leyrit, the Governor and the councillors should guard the inner Fort while the Second, M. Guillard and officers and soldiers guarded the battery at the corner of the Sea-wall, etc.,<sup>3</sup> and that M. Lally was to manage the Fort and outside affairs. The troops

<sup>1</sup> 24th *Mâsi*, *Pramādhi*.

<sup>2</sup> 25th *Mâsi*, *Pramādhi*.

<sup>3</sup> On February 12 it had already been decided to arm the Company's servants and the bourgeois, and make them sleep in the Fort. Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 428, etc.

which were outside at the Bound-hodge, Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry and elsewhere have therefore been recalled, so that the townspeople are afraid and many Christians, Lubbays and Kômuttis have departed with their families to Venkatâmpêttai, Cuddalore, Porto Novo and other places. As the English are really expected, the Europeans have allowed the panic-stricken people to go out freely, as, otherwise, there would have been yet greater panic.

*Wednesday, March 5.*<sup>1</sup>—The women and children and relatives of Chinna Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai and Guntûr Bâli Chetti—nearly half the town—have left it ; but my own relatives and family remain here.

M. Lally who went to Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry, returned at nine at night, having divided the troops there into several detachments and posted a few men at Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry, 100 horse with powder and shot as far out as Kûnimêdu to enable provisions to be brought in at night, and officers and soldiers with powder and shot to guard the redoubts and the Perumbai hills.

*Thursday, March 6.*<sup>2</sup>—The English troops who were attacking Perumukkal being unwilling to continue fighting there any longer,

<sup>1</sup> 20th Mâsi, Pramâdhi.

<sup>2</sup> 27th Mâsi, Pramâdhi.

marched and attacked our French troopers at Pilichapallam, whereon the latter retired, some to the Perumbai hills and others into the fort. But when they approached the Valudâvûr Gate, it was closed to prevent them from entering until they said they had retired because of the English attack. On their way they plundered Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu, etc., so the people of Villiyanallûr and Olukarai have come into Pondichery with their seed-corn, mud pots, and other cooking utensils. M. Lally, on learning this, set out at three o'clock, and told the people not to be afraid and then went to Perumbai, saying that he would attack and drive the English troops away. Thus there is great panic in the town, many people escaping and many others seeking shelter here.

*Friday, March 7.*<sup>1</sup>—As the English troops and the Maratha horse advanced up to Sêthirâpâttu, Muttirai-pâlaiyam, Olukarai, etc. places, and even to the Bounds, wounding some, seizing their cattle, and burning houses, many living outside fled into the town in their alarm. The Europeans at the several outposts being unwilling to resist the enemy retired to the Bounds. M. Lally, on hearing this, set out with M. Leyrit, encouraged them,

and posted them, some at the Bound-hedge, some at Olukarai and others at Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry.

Six English ships were sighted off Kâlâpattu and between Kûnimêdu and my *agrahâram*, where they dropped anchor. Four were far out at sea, but two were close in. On seeing a boat with faggots coming from Âlambarai, four boat-loads of soldiers pursued it, until our guards stationed there fired, whereon the men in the boats fled. The boat reached the shore and the faggots were landed. Afterwards the people thereabouts fled in panic to the jungles to the westward.

As the European councillors are changing rupees into pagodas, the rate has fallen from 360 to 367 rupees.

M. Leyrit and the councillors stayed to-night at the Beach, mounting cannon on the Sea-wall battery. As the English ships are near [ ].

*Saturday, March 8.*<sup>1</sup>—From the 23rd or 24th<sup>2</sup> till noon to-day, many who have mingled with men of other castes, Lubbays, Kômuttis, Chettis, Brâhmans and many others left the town and only a few remain. On perceiving this, Ayyan Sâstri, Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan, Kulasêkharam Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, and

<sup>1</sup> 20th Mâsi, Pramâdhi.

<sup>2</sup> March 2 or 3.

a few others in the Brâhman Street resolved to depart; others also followed them; but people going out in the afternoon were stopped and told that they could only go out with M. Lally's passports. I hear that, when the women of Ayyan Sâstri's and Kulasêkharam Venkatanâranappa Ayyan's houses and a few others of the Brâhman Street were going out, they were stopped at the gate and sent to the Fort, being told that they could go only on production of M. Lally's passports.

As the shops in the town which sold rice, vegetables and other provisions were closed owing to the departure of the people, the council which met to-day decided that, if people went out, provisions would not be brought in from outside and consequently food would grow scarce, and that therefore M. Lally should order guards to be posted on the four roads to prevent people from departing. Also as complaints had been made that all the shops had been closed, and that Europeans could not get rice or vegetables, etc., to-day, the Second summoned the Choultry-writers and told them to order the bazaar-people to open their bazaars. The Choultry-writers did accordingly, whereon four or five shops were opened this evening.

M. Bussy, having been summoned by the English, who have rejected a month's pay,

replied that they might come and talk with him.<sup>1</sup> I hear that the council decided to-day to send M. Bussy to Madras and that he is going to-morrow with one or two officers.

I also hear that, according to the council's decision, the King's Europeans have been stationed at the Bounds, on the Perumbai hills and other places, and the Company's Europeans in the town and Fort. The English who yesterday alarmed Perumbai, etc. places, did the same to-day also. There is no other news.

It is said that our people are diverting the water of Ūshtu tank within the Bound-hedge and that the English have tied *tōranams* in Tiruppâppuliyûr. Our European officers at Perumbai, Ella Pillai's Choultry and the Bound-hedge, are said to have broken into Sâram, Kosappâlaiyam, etc. places, plundering houses and removing the building materials, and the Europeans and Pariahs in Olukarai and Reddipâlaiyam are also said to have plundered certain houses.

*Sunday, March 9.*<sup>2</sup>—As the townspeople are departing, as some English troopers are

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<sup>1</sup> In the previous January Coote had written to Lally, calling on Bussy and two other officers to surrender themselves in accordance with the paroles they had given. Lally replied, on January 30, with an offer of ransom in accordance with a cartel which had been arranged in Europe (*Military Consultations*, February 7, 1760). The English declined the ransom and insisted on the surrender of the officers on parole.

<sup>2</sup> 30th Mâsi, Pramâdhi.

plundering and committing atrocities in the neighbouring villages, and as the people of Olukarai and other places are coming into the town, the 16th day ceremony of Valliyammâl, mother-in-law of my younger brother and wife of Sêshâdri Pillai's eldest son, could not be performed outside, but was performed by the great well on the north-east.

The Europeans and soldiers at the Pêrumbai hills who fled to Sâram and Kosappâlaiyam and the Bound-hedge, have begun to plunder them—another reason why the ceremony could not be performed outside.

The English troopers who were at Tindivanam and Perumukkal, 500 or 600 of the Maratha horse whom they have entertained, and some Pindâris, went to my Tiruvôngadapuram *agrahâram* where they seized women's cloths, *mângalyam*,<sup>1</sup> etc., of the Brâhman women, who were attending the ceremony just mentioned. The Brâhman said that the Choultry belonged to Wazârat Râyar and that they were living on charity, so the dubâshes reported the matter to the commandant who encouraged the Brâhman, saying that they need not fear, and lodging them in a house with guards of Desvaux' peons both at the front gate and the

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<sup>1</sup> The *tûli* or marriage badge tied round a woman's neck at an auspicious moment of the marriage ceremony.

backyard, and sending men to find out the lost goods and restore them to their owners. Some of the horsemen who had plundered the property, had departed to Kûnimêdu, etc. places, but the things found with those who remained were seized and returned to their owners. The commandant added, 'When the French attacked Madras, they plundered Triplicane, St. Thomas' Mount, etc. places up to Madras, taking both men and women prisoners, killing many and doing other atrocities. We shall not behave so, but the peons who accompany us may not keep quiet. Why do you remain here? Don't stay here any longer.' At two o'clock M. Bussy went, conferred with the English commandant for a little while, and then departed by the Madras road, leaving the English horse behind. The [European households] in the town[remain] but [all the] women have left the town with their children, and I remain here with my family though the rest have gone out.

*Monday, March 10.*<sup>1</sup>—Council sat this morning from nine o'clock to noon. After it had broken up, Chandâ Sâhib's son was sent for and told that the corner battery on the west and the ditch, would be put in his charge, and that, to guard the town, he should

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<sup>1</sup> 1st Panguṇi, Pramādhī.



entertain 500 sepoyes who would be completely under his orders and whom he must pay for three months until the arrival of ships. The Europeans, Tamils and other respectable and well-to-do people in the town have been assigned various duties according to their capacity.

The men and women going out are being accompanied by some as far as Cuddalore, Tiruppâdirippuliyûr, Venkatâpôtai, Tiruviti, etc. places. The Christians, the women of Chinna Mudali's house and his relations, have gone to Kârikâl and other places.

The Second said to me this morning that, when the adopted son of Venkatâchala Nâyakkan who is second dubâsh wanted to see and speak with the Governor, he was told that he might do so either at his house or in the Fort.

*Tuesday, March 11.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Guillard, the Second, came to my house this morning and said, 'The council yesterday decided to inform you that as, owing to the acute English troubles, our own people, namely, the King's officers and soldiers, might plunder the town, you and the councillors should be entrusted with posting sepoyes to guard the walls of the Fort, you should guard a rampart with 50

sepoys, paying each sepoy six rupees a month or 300 rupees a month in all, and have complete control over them; you should also entertain sepoy to protect the Tamils who should pay them at the proper rates though they should remain under your orders, and you will therefore be their master and they are to obey you and report to you.' I replied, 'The council may be right in giving such orders, and I must obey them and manage the business. But the two jaghir villages of Tirumangalam and Nerkunam which I enjoyed have been seized; the appointment I hold has been merely nominal in recent years, for M. Leyrit did not allow me freedom to do as I thought best, so I remained at home; also I enjoyed a jaghir of five villages in the Devanâmpattanam country which the English seized; and though M. Dupleix wrote about this to the ministers in Europe, the Devanâmpattanam country still remains in their possession, and I am not allowed the enjoyment of the villages. I have to pay about 10,000 rupees for the rice, dholl, ghi, vegetables, fowls, etc., which I have purchased for my own use. My creditors demand payment and my affairs have suffered in many ways. Considering all this, how can M. Leyrit make this demand?' M. Guillard replied, 'What you

say is true, and I shall repeat it in council. But if you will not agree in this emergency, the Tamils will not either, but will be afraid.'—'Then,' I replied, 'I will not refuse at this critical time, when the Company is on the verge of ruin, for I have lived here 50 years under the French flag, serving the Company and eating its food, so that the very blood in my veins is the Company's. I will therefore sell my houses and property and pay 300 rupees *per* month, but do not ask me to manage the business of the sepoy. I cannot undertake the task of controlling them.'—'Very well,' he said, 'I will discuss the matter with M. Leyrit and in council, and let you know.' He then related what had happened and departed.

M. Guillard the Second sent for Tânappa Mudali (Kanakarâya Mudali's younger brother), Periyanna Mudali, Râmachandra Râo and others in the evening and said, 'You should each enlist 50 sepoy, pay them [ ].'

*Wednesday, March 12.*<sup>1</sup>—I heard to-day that the Europeans at Perumbai, the Bound-hedge, etc., had broken into Kosappâlaiyam, Sâram, etc. places, destroying gardens and wells and plundering the houses. I cannot write their

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<sup>1</sup> 3rd Panguni, Pramâdhi.

atrocities. The *dorais* of the town never trouble themselves about such things nor question those who go out or come in ; the English horse advanced in two's and three's plundering up to the Bound-hedge. In short, the condition of the town can only be compared with the times of the deluge. It is beyond the *dorais'* power to save us—God alone can.

*Thursday, March 13.*<sup>1</sup>—I hear that council decided to-day that M. Lally and the King's European army should be quartered at the washing-place and that the Company's soldiers and men and the palankin-bearers employed by the Tamils should guard the batteries and Fort ramparts.

Formerly Perumukkal was captured with the Europeans in it. To-day's news is that Âlambarai fort has been captured and the Europeans in it have been sent to Madras as prisoners of war.

The council to-day ordered the Europeans to pay, and they are carrying their goods to the mint. A thousand [ ] for the bearers' pay [ ].

*Friday, March 14.*<sup>2</sup>—There was a council this morning about the money that is needed, and about the news that the English army

<sup>1</sup> 4th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

<sup>2</sup> 5th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

which took Âlambarai fort is marching against Valudâvûr. I also hear that several other matters were to have been discussed at the council.

I heard that the people who went to the southwards and were robbed of their goods by Krishna Râo's men on the banks of the Coleroon<sup>1</sup> had taken refuge in the Venkatâmpêttai jungles. The few that still remain in the town are leaving it as the English have taken Âlambarai fort, and to-morrow none will remain.

I hear that letters have been received from Surat.

*Saturday, March 15.*<sup>2</sup>—I think the council met this morning only about money, and the despatch of soldiers from here and the admission of people from outside.

The few that remain are going out to-day.

As the English have captured that fort [  
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*Sunday, March 16.*<sup>3</sup>—[The news I heard] at eight o'clock this morning:—The *Haarlem*, which was taken at a price from the Dutch, returned from Tenasserim at a quarter past one this morning with wheat, rice, sugar, sugarcandy, lead, tutenague, and planks and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Orme, ii, 625–626.

<sup>2</sup> 6th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

<sup>3</sup> 7th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

dust<sup>1</sup>, after touching at Ganjam where she took in some paddy and rice. Being out of sight of land, she made her land-fall near Kûnimêdu and was close in at sunrise. The breeze prevented her from putting back, and then an English ship sighted her and opened fire; when the sound of guns was heard here, 200 or 300 soldiers were despatched in four boats, and M. Lally himself went with the European guards by land. But in the mean time the French ship unable to resist the enemy's fire, put back to Bommayyapâlaiyam, one of the English shots having struck her mast and set fire to her. The men on board escaped, but the value of the goods lost and of the ship herself must be two lakhs of rupees.<sup>2</sup> This was brought about by the mischance of her sailing northwards after sighting the shore, and people are very much troubled at this misfortune.

*Monday, March 17.*<sup>3</sup>—Shaikh Dukki told me yesterday to visit the Fort, but, as I am unwell, I sent Appâvu this morning. On his going upstairs at the *Gouvernement*, M. Guillard the Second asked him why he had come. He replied, 'Last night Shaikh Dukki, captain of the sepoy, came and said he had M. Lally's orders to summon the caste-people

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Perhaps she had some sand aboard as ballast.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Orme, ii, 616.

<sup>3</sup> 8th Panguni, *Pramādhi*.



money for the sepoy's at the batteries according to the rates settled already. Muhammad 'Alî, who has left Trichinopoly, is said to have reached Vâlikondâpuram with 1,000 troopers, 1,000 Kallars, 1,000 foot, and 100 Europeans and Topasses.

Officers say that, by the General's orders, the Governor, councillors, writers, all European householders and others will be drawn up and counted, for which purpose they must assemble in the morning.

*Thursday, March 20.*<sup>1</sup>—The Governor, councillors and all were on the grand parade this morning, M. Leyrit sword in hand at the head of the councillors. When the General, who was upstairs, came down, the *tambour* beat and all marks of honour were shown. He then told M. Leyrit who had his sword drawn to fix bayonets and shoulder arms. M. Leyrit did so and turned about ; but as he could not give the proper order, an officer was sent to give the order, while M. Leyrit stood aside. The councillors, writers and others who were thus drawn up were told that they must assemble at the washing-place ready to march to battle. M. Guillard and M. La Selle said that it would not be decent for them to go out and that they would not leave the Fort. This so infuriated

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<sup>1</sup> 11th Panguni, Pramâdhi.



him<sup>1</sup> that he ran at them with a horse-whip, on which they dropped their guns and fled one falling over another. The officers and soldiers of the *Régiment de Lorraine* were ordered to take up their guns and flints which were then lodged in a certain placo. M. Guillard was ordered to be imprisoned over the West Gate and M. La Selle in the dungeon. Four writers, M. St. Marceau and M. de Conte were ordered to be fettered and shut up in the dungeon. The councillors and writers fled, fearing lest something should befall them also. The soldiers of the *Régiment de Lorraine* and *Régiment de Lally*—300 or 400 in all—are guarding the houses in the Fort. As the General Avargal is so angry, the town is in a panic and people tremble. The inhabitants of the Tamil streets are not particularly alarmed, but the Europeans, not knowing what more will happen, are afraid of their houses being plundered. I hear that they therefore intend leaving the town with their children.

*Friday, March 21.*<sup>2</sup>—Besides the councillors and writers who were drawn up and detailed for duty yesterday, M. Leyrit and other councillors, writers, etc., were ordered to be drawn up this morning. At nine, the General Avargal brought down the King's *parwâna*,

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., Lally.

<sup>2</sup> 12th Panguni, Pramādhi.

and giving it to M. La Grenée the secretary, told him to read it. It bears the King's seal and empowers M. Lally Avargal to deal with the Governor, the councillors, officers, etc., here as he pleases, as if he were the King of France. At this their faces fell and they looked terror-struck. The General then said, 'I have done this in consequence of your behaviour. Be careful in future, or I will apply the adze to you. Till now you were all ignorant of my authority ; but now at least you know it.' With these words, he went upstairs, and M. Leyrit followed him, crest-fallen and dejected. I hear that the councillors, writers and Europeans who were also much abashed, went home one by one in silence.

I heard this evening that M. La Salle under the escort of 20 troopers and 20 soldiers was made to go on foot to-day to Valudâvûr fort where he was put in irons and that M. St. Marceau and M. de Conte were sent under the escort of some Europeans to Gingee fort to be imprisoned there in fetters.

*Sunday, March 23.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Lally set out with the Hussars, troopers and 200 or 300 soldiers in the town, with powder, shot and munitions of war, to attack the English encamped at

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<sup>1</sup> 14th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

Âlambarai. Ho reached the washing-place at six o'clock this evening. I also hear that Chandâ Sâhib's son was ordered to accompany him.

*Monday, March 24.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Lally who set out last night to attack the English, went as far as Kûnimêdu, but, not meeting with them, returned to the Fort at seven o'clock this morning and went to bed, having been without sleep the whole of last night.

As the councillors were informed by a note yesterday that a council would be held to-day, they came and waited till eleven o'clock ; but went home at half-past eleven, as M. Lally was still sleeping in his room with the doors closed. There is no other important news.

*Wednesday, March 26.*<sup>2</sup>—No council met at the Fort to-day.

M. Lally has had notices written in four languages—Persian, Marathi, Tolugu and Tamil—and sealed with his great Persian seal ; these were posted at the Muttirai Choultry, the Mission church opposite my house, St. Paul's church, the Capuchins' church and the Beach and Fort gates, and also proclaimed by beat of tom-tom. It is as follows :—Mahârâja Râjasrî Monsieur Lally General Bahâdûr Sâhib Avargal hereby

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<sup>1</sup> 15th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

<sup>2</sup> 17th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

announces that all Muhammadans, Christians and heathen, whether high or low, may write their grievances and complaints in their own languages and put their petitions in the box hung at the East Gate within the Fort, which box will be opened by a key which he will keep in his own possession, and the disputes shall be settled at once. Dated March 25, 1760. Accordingly all are hastening to put in their petitions, but the result remains to be seen.

Two Pariah sepoys from Mahé who arrived to-day with letters for the council say that a squadron of French ships from Mauritius and Mascareigne appeared off Mahé, the captains of three vessels putting into the roads and sending a European ashore with letters; the French *Directeur* at Mahé delivered to the ship's captain M. Lally's letters from here, after receiving which the captain set sail, and the Mahé *Directeur* has sent his letters hither. People are talking about this. The letter-bearers say that they left Mahé twelve days ago, so the ships may be here in a week.

*Thursday, March 27.*<sup>1</sup>—The council did not meet to-day.

It was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that M. Lally has ordered that all who left the town from fear of the English attack, may

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<sup>1</sup> 18th Panguni, Pramadhi,

return and live quietly, but that the houses, goods, etc., of those who disobey, will be seized by the Company.

As eight or ten English ships were sighted this morning sailing northwards through the roads, tom-toms were beaten and the palankin-bearers directed to carry shot to the walls. Supposing that they were French ships, the Europeans and Tamils assembled in surprise at the Beach to see them; but being English ships, they sailed away northwards in a short time.

*Friday, March 28.<sup>1</sup>*—I did not hear any important news to-day.

I hear that M. Guillard, the Second, sent for the *mahânâtârs* and told them to give, on account of the sepoys' pay, 10,000 rupees for two months at the rate of 5,000 rupees a month, and that on their agreeing to this, the share of each caste is being written.

*Saturday, March 29.<sup>2</sup>*—I heard to-day that the villages round Gingee had been plundered by the English. There is no other important news.

*Sunday, March 30.<sup>3</sup>*—I heard to-day that the English army at Âlambarai had encamped at Sevûr in the Tindivanam country north of Perumukkal on the way to attack Gingee;

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<sup>1</sup> 19th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

<sup>2</sup> 20th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

<sup>3</sup> 21st Panguni, Pramâdhi.

but others relate this differently. I have heard no other important news.

The Europeans were busy with their festival<sup>1</sup> to-day.

Fifty sepoyes, 30 Coffrees and 20 Topasses of the English—100 in all—are said to be in the Âlambarai fort and 40 sepoyes at Merkânam. The Chevalier marched against them to-night with a few Hussars and 40 northern sepoyes from Bunder. What will happen remains to be seen.

I heard to-day that M. Nicolas,<sup>2</sup> the commandant of Kârikâl, had sent letters hither by catamaran-men who, after delivering the letters to the Governor, reported that four English ships and two sloops had reached the Kârikâl roads the day before yesterday, and that Mr. Cornish the Admiral, landed on Saturday with a small party, plundering and raising batteries in order to be ready for attack.

*Monday, March 31.*<sup>3</sup>—To-day is the beginning of the fifty-second year of my life according to my horoscope ; and according to the mundane figure and the *Simsumâra*

<sup>1</sup> i.e., Easter.

<sup>2</sup> He was the author of some *mémoires*, on the events of the time, to be read in the Orme MSS. (Various Nos. 1 and 2). But d'Hery seems to have been the commandant and was broke for surrendering the place after a siege of four days. (Lally's *Pièces*, No. 69).

<sup>3</sup> 22nd Panguni, Pramâdhi.

*Chakra*<sup>1</sup>, *Savya Chakra*<sup>2</sup> begins from to-day. The Sun's passage from Aries to Virgo, comprising 54 years, allowing nine years for each of the six signs, forms the day or *Savya Chakra*, while its passage, which has just been completed, from Libra to Pisces, also comprising 54 years, allowing nine years for each of these six signs, forms the night or *Apasavya Chakra*<sup>3</sup>. In the first three signs of the *Apasavya Chakra*, prosperity decreased, but was not severely felt; but in the three signs following ending with Pisces, there was a progressively evil influence which exhibited itself in famine throughout the land and a decrease in riches and revenues owing to the troubles among the Râjâs. So all the prosperity which was seen here on earth during the *Savya Chakra* gradually declined by Pisces, the last of the signs in *Apasavya Chakra*. From to-day and from the year *Vikrama*<sup>4</sup>, prosperity will daily increase for 54 years in place

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<sup>1</sup> Literally the Crocodile Chart. It is an astrological Chart drawn in the shape of a crocodile, showing the gods, planets and stars. The Chart shows the Sun as controlling the affairs of kings, the moon those of nobles, the planets those of the officers of State, and the stars those of private persons. From information kindly communicated by M.R.Ry. Conchi Subrahmanya Sastri, Madras.

<sup>2</sup> Literally the right-hand sign. Here the phrase is used to indicate the Sun's passage from Aries to Virgo in the dexter direction and consequently with a favourable influence.

<sup>3</sup> Literally the left-hand sign; the exact reverse of the right-hand sign.

<sup>4</sup> 1760-1761.

of the adversity that has been seen till now, according to my horoscope and according to the *Simsumâra Chakra*. From Tuesday the 23rd *Panguni*, commences the [dark half of the lunar] month of *Chittirai* of the year *Vikrama*. According to the mundane figure and according to the solar year calculations of those who prepare almanacs, good and bad are to be seen from Wednesday, the first of *Chittirai*, when the Sun enters Aries.

At about eleven o'clock to-day, the outer tooth of the single teeth on the right of my lower jaw came out. In the month of *Kârttigai* of the year *Dhâthu*,<sup>1</sup> the outermost tooth but one of my upper double teeth on the left began to come out and two more came out in the same month of each of the succeeding two years ending with *Bahudânya*.<sup>2</sup> I fell sick in the month of *Âdi*,<sup>3</sup> growing worse in the month of *Kârttigai*, and then recovering. This year too a similar illness began in the month of *Kârttigai* and at about eleven o'clock to-day, a tooth on the right in my lower jaw came out and then my disease disappeared. Now we shall see the effect of the *Savya Chakra*, commencing from Aries. Up to now during the Sun's position in Pisces, the *Apasavya*

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<sup>1</sup> November-December 1756-1757.

<sup>2</sup> 1758-1759.

<sup>3</sup> July-August.



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influence prevailed. As the Sun is in the *amsa*<sup>1</sup> of Sagittarius, the influence of the *Savya Chakra* beginning from Aries remains to be seen.

I hear that, as the English troops are reported to have occupied the villages round Kârikâl with a view to attacking it, a council was held to-day to discuss what should be done and how to find money for the business.

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<sup>1</sup> The division of a sign of 30 degrees into nine parts.

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## APRIL 1760.

*Tuesday, April 1.*<sup>1</sup>—My peon Krishnâji, who has brought letters from Vellore for Razâ Sâhib, reported the following news to me :—When Salabat Jang and Nizâm 'Alî formerly attacked the Nânâ, the latter was defeated and Shaikh Ibrâhîm and others were killed. But although the Nânâ had been defeated, he collected reinforcements and attacked Salabat Jang and Nizâm 'Alî, who, being then defeated, opened negotiations with the Nânâ, after an exchange of oaths, and agreed to give him the Burhanpur, Daulatabad and Aurangabad forts with those countries and permit him to collect the *chauth* in the Carnatic subah and to do what he pleased in the Arcot subah. It was also agreed that the relations between the Nânâ and the Nizâm should be put on their old footing. Thereupon the Nânâ wrote to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân, saying that he should send to Arcot in the month of *Chittirai* 12,000 horse whom he might use to guard the Arcot subah as he thought best, and he also sent a dress of honour, a horse, a *turra* set with precious stones, a *sarpêch*, and a *parwâna*. Murtazâ 'Alî Khân went out with all marks of honour to receive the presents, ordering

salutes to be fired and sugar distributed in his great joy, and is busy preparing to guard the subah. The peon declared that he was present throughout and added, 'Murtazâ 'Alî Khân sent a letter to Razâ Sâhib about this. When the latter questioned me about it, I replied that everything was true, that Murtazâ 'Alî Khân advanced to receive the presents with all marks of honour, and ordered salutes to be fired and sugar distributed. I myself witnessed the whole joyful ceremony.'

*Wednesday, April 2.*<sup>2</sup>—A messenger who had brought to M. Lally a letter from M. Nicolas, the commandant at Kârikâl, came to me and said, 'The English arrived at Kârikâl on Friday, entered the town on Saturday, seized the old fort on the bank of the river where they hoisted their flag instead of ours, raised batteries and are preparing to attack. Sînappayyan and a few others have left for Tranquebar and Porayâr. Tiruvêngadathâ Pillai alone has remained in the fort. The bazaar-people and others in the town have been told they may remain quietly with their bazaars, or depart if they prefer it, and that if they remain, sepoy will be posted to prevent plunder ; and those who complain

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<sup>2</sup> This did not of course prove the receipt of such a letter from the Nânâ, though it was of course intended to convince the people.

<sup>3</sup> 24th Panguni, Pramâdhi,

that they cannot remove their goods are being told that they may seal up their houses and that [the English] will seal them also and post sepoys to prevent the property from being plundered.' The peon who brought letters to M. Lally and M. Leyrit reported to me the above news and added that our people in the fort were firing shells at the English position, but that their people could not go out, and that the English had not fired in return.

*Thursday, April 3.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Lally and M. Leyrit summoned the *mahânâttârs* to-day and told them that they must make arrangements to clear out the ditches round the fort on account of the troubles. The *mahânâttârs* replied that they ought not to oppose this order but added that they had never been told to do such a thing since the town began. M. Lally and M. Leyrit replied, 'Then we will set the example of removing earth and then you may do the same.' The *mahânâttârs* continued, 'Why should you do so? We will do it ourselves.' Thereon M. Lally and M. Leyrit told them to summon all the Tamils under them at seven o'clock to-morrow morning. The *mahânâttârs* replied, 'How can we do that unless we know how many are needed? It will be better therefore to order the

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<sup>1</sup> 25th Panguni, Pramâdhi.

tom-tom to be beaten and then they will come.' It was proclaimed accordingly by beat of tom-tom that all the caste-people should assemble south of the Fort at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, that the streets are to be levelled, cleaned and watered, and the ditches also cleaned. For the last 60 years since the foundation of the town, never have the European gentlemen in the town said that they would carry earth or ordered respectable people to do so. But now gentlemen themselves have ordered it because, at the end of the influence of Pisces, the master of the people is destined to die, and a new Government will be formed from the beginning of Aries, as Sîtârâma Jôsior predicted. Men say that this prediction is being fulfilled and I agree with them.

I hear that two Europeans last night invited two officers to their houses, where they stabbed them and buried them in the garden of a Shânan's house<sup>1</sup> in Mîrâpalli; the gardener, learning this, reported it to the Nayinâr who, in turn, reported it to the Governor, whereon M. Boyelleau and a few others, having viewed the corpses, ordered M. Caillot,<sup>2</sup> a European writer, and another

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<sup>1</sup> The Shânârs are toddy-drawers.

<sup>2</sup> There was a Company's servant of this name who had long served in Bengal, and who had risen to the rank of Chief of Balasore and then Supernumerary councillor. I think the person mentioned here may have been this man's son, as he is described as a writer.

European living close by, to be shut up in the dungeon ; but when they were again sent for and questioned, they replied they knew nothing about it, and demanded proofs and witnesses to be brought, whereon in the evening they were set at liberty. Since the 17th of *Panguni*,<sup>1</sup> one or two officers have been murdered and buried every day. To-night also an officer was stabbed to death.

I hear that, on the news that English horse had been seen close by, M. Lally sent 150 or 200 European horse against them, but though the English were unable to resist our people, they went to Villiyanallûr and completely burnt nine or ten houses, including Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan's, and plundered other houses, whereon the people fled.

*Friday, April 4.*<sup>2</sup>—M. Lally set out at nine o'clock this morning with a few troopers, announcing that he was going to Valudâvûr, but he only went to the washing-place, whence he sent out a few of the European soldiers there with his troopers, and himself returned to the Fort.

*Saturday, April 5.*<sup>3</sup>—I hear that M. Fumel who set out yesterday for Kârikâl<sup>4</sup> with 200

<sup>1</sup> March 26.

<sup>2</sup> 26th *Panguni*, *Pramâdhi*.

<sup>3</sup> 27th *Panguni*, *Pramâdhi*.

<sup>4</sup> He did not arrive in time to relieve the place.

European troopers and 600 or 700 foot, plundered Singarikôyil, Alisapâkkam and other places, and then advanced southwards, and that it was his people who burnt the houses at Villiyanallûr.

I also hear that the English army, falling upon our men at Villupuram, put them to flight and tied *tôranams* there.

*Sunday, April 6.*<sup>1</sup>—Officers here say that a few of our soldiers and foot in the fort of Kârikâl attacked the English there, and withdrew into the fort after killing about 40 soldiers and some foot.

*Monday, April 7.*<sup>2</sup>—I heard to-day that, as our troops at Kârikâl under the command of M. Nicolas were unable to endure the shells fired on Saturday by the English besiegers, they made terms and delivered Kârikâl into their possession at two o'clock.<sup>3</sup>

As the English troopers were seen in Mokkuvattam, Valudâvûr, Tirumangalam, Nerkunam and thereabouts, the inhabitants have fled to several places.

As the English have captured Kârikâl at a time when there is famine at Madras, they

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<sup>1</sup> 28th Pangu, Pramâlhi.

<sup>2</sup> 29th Pangu, Pramâlhi.

<sup>3</sup> For the siege of Kârikâl, cf. Orme, ii, 617, etc. I print in the appendix an interesting letter from the Engineer, John Call, on the same subject.

are sending by ship to Madras the 500 or 600 garse of paddy taken in the place.

*Tuesday, April 8.*<sup>1</sup>—I heard to-day nothing more than that bags<sup>2</sup> were being taken by the Madras Gate to build batteries on the north-east.

To-day 54 years will have been completed in the *Apasavya Chakra* from Libra to Pisces. The last period of this [*Chakra*], that is, that of Pisces, has covered nine years from the year *Prajôtpatti*<sup>3</sup> to *Panguni, Pramâdhi*,<sup>4</sup> and Venus being exalted in that sign, and Jupiter being its Lord, those under the declining Mercury passed under Venus thus exalted and managed countries, while Brâhmans under Venus also managed and enjoyed countries. Thus the *Shâstras* and the *Simsumâra Chakra* explained in them proved true. From Wednesday, the 1st of *Chittirai, Vikrama*, the period of Aries begins: and for 54 years from Aries to Virgo, in the *Savya Chakra*, what happens remains to be seen when in Aries, the Sun is exalted, Saturn declines, and Mars is Lord.

*Wednesday, April 9.*<sup>5</sup>—The year *Vikrama* begins from to-day. One hundred and eight

<sup>1</sup> 30th *Panguni, Pramâdhi*.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., sand-bags.

<sup>3</sup> 1751–1752.

<sup>4</sup> March–April 1759–1760.

<sup>5</sup> 1st *Chittirai, Vikrama*. Here the nature of the text changes. Hitherto a transcript prepared for the Madras Government has been followed, and this has been incapable of control owing to the damage received by the original volumes during a cyclone at Pondichery. But from this point onwards the text is that of the original document.



years having been completed by the beginning of this year, at the rate of 54 years in *Savya Chakra* and 54 years in *Apasavya Chakra*, another cycle of 108 years commences from this month at the rate of nine years for each of the twelve signs commencing from Aries. As the Sun is the lord of the *Savya Chakra* from Aries to Virgo and as Nanda Gôpâla is of the solar line, the kingdom will be ruled by members of the Gôpâla dynasty and there will be prosperity.<sup>1</sup> In the coming 54 years of *Apasavya Chakra*, that is, from Libra to Pisces, there will be moderate prosperity and adversity. Thus after the end of the rule of the members of the Gôpâla dynasty for 108 years, there will be *mlêcha* rule for 108 years, as predicted by Sîtârâma Jôsier and the writing given by him. According to his prediction, there was to be misgovernment and anarchy towards the end of the period of Pisces and up to the beginning of the year *Pramâdhi*, from Delhi to Râmêsvaram, in Europe, in the country of Rûm, and in foreign countries, etc., wherever the Sun shone; the Pâdshâh was slain, and the Pâdshâh who succeeded him fled, and the women and others

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<sup>1</sup> Nanda was foster-father of Sri Krishna, the protector of shepherds or Yâdavâs, to which caste Ranga Pillai belonged. However the Yâdavâs formed a lunar line of kings, and in this point the Diarist seems mistaken.

in the city deserted it in panic. Thus anarchy prevailed everywhere. The *Shâstras* proved true in the year *Pramâdhi* and it remains to be seen what will happen from the beginning of *Vikrama*.

It was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom to-day that the palankin and dhooli-bearers in the town, the coolies and the men in the Bound-villages of Olukarai, Ariyânkuppam, Alisapâkkam, Singarikôyil and the surrounding parts, are to work for the Company. I did not hear any other important news.

When Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) was going out in a palankin, ten soldiers whom he met made him get down and went away with the palankin and bearers. When again he went out this evening in a palankin with M. Lally's permission, the soldiers again treated him disrespectfully, as orders had been delivered only to the major and not to them. Razâ Sâhib was only let pass when the major sent word that the general orders did not apply to him.

*Thursday, April 10.*<sup>1</sup>—At nine o'clock this morning, Senhor La Tour<sup>2</sup> who was talking to me said, 'I asked you to give me a new bond for the 9,000 rupees you owe me and to give

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<sup>1</sup> 2nd Chittirai, *Vikrama*.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose the Diarist gives him this title because of his long residence at Manilla.

me a year's interest in advance. You have only given me 190 rupees. Please let me have the balance.' I replied that I would pay the amount in three instalments.

He then said that no ships would arrive before the month of *Āni*.<sup>1</sup> I said that they would come in the month of *Chittirai*.<sup>2</sup> 'They will not,' he replied. 'What will you bet on it?' He then departed.

The Europeans, councillors and others assembled at the Fort, on hearing the report of two guns and the beating of the *tambour* on the approach of English boats to the shore at half-past eleven to-night<sup>3</sup>; afterwards they returned to their respective homes.

*Friday, April 11.*<sup>4</sup>—I heard this afternoon that, when M. Lally summoned Râmalinga Pillai, Bâpu Râo, Râmachandra Râo, Guntûr Bâli Chetti and Sanjaya Chetti and asked them for money for the expenses, Râmalingam alone agreed to pay 4,000 rupees in money besides supplying certain articles. He then departed. But the others said that they had already given money and they could give no more. Thercon M. Lally told them that, if

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<sup>1</sup> June-July.

<sup>2</sup> April-May.

<sup>3</sup> They were probably taking soundings. No attack can have been intended at this time.

<sup>4</sup> 3rd Chittirai, Vikrama.

they failed to pay in three days, he would do this and that, and put them in the dungeon. Afterwards he posted a head-peon over each of their houses. I also hear that a list of the names of 11 or 16 persons including the renters of the Bound-villages has been given to the Nayinâr, with instructions to collect the amount.

At five o'clock this evening a head-peon came and said that M. Lally wanted me. I sent word that I had been too unwell to go out for the last two months. The head-peon who went and reported my reply returned, saying that I was at least to send Appâvu with the list of houses already written. When Appâvu went accordingly, M. Gadeville asked him if he had brought the list of houses formerly written. He replied, 'The peon did not tell me any details. However I have already given a list to the Governor.'—'I did not know that,' the other said. 'M. Lally's order was that the account should be obtained.'—'Very well, I will produce the account,' Appâvu replied. He then came and reported the matter to me. The reason of all this fuss to-day is as follows:—M. Clegg, who used to be my writer, presented a petition about the taxes collected in the country by M. Leyrit through Kandappa Mudali, saying, 'Why kill the poor instead of ascertaining who has

money? Money will only come in if a Tamil is given control of the business along with Muhammadans or Europeans. How can money come in if the dubâshes of those that govern are made to collect it? And how will the Company get money in time of need?' This was given to M. Lally. I had a copy of it in my house, but I had forgotten all about it; and, when I was asleep in the afternoon, he<sup>1</sup> came, opened my drawer, of which he had the key, and took the paper. My people came and told me that M. Clegg had taken a paper, and, when I woke up, I asked what it was, but he went away saying that it was one of his own. It was only after this that the several people were summoned and asked for money. The statement that I have the list of houses is true; and, as I should be blamed if I concealed the account, I have resolved to give it.<sup>2</sup>

To-day Europeans with drawn swords broke into and plundered houses, causing great alarm, and stabbing or killing a few persons.

*Saturday, April 12.*<sup>3</sup>—Appâvu gave M. Gadeville the account of taxes to be collected from the Tamils in the town. M. Gadeville said that the amount was small, and, taking

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<sup>1</sup> I suppose Clegg.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently Clegg found and mentioned this paper to Lally.

<sup>3</sup> 4th Chittirai, Vikrama.

the account, sent Appâvu away, telling him to give his salaam to his father.<sup>1</sup> Appâvu reported this news to me.

This is what happened at the Fort :—Kangipâti Virâ Chetti, Guntûr Bâli Chetti, Alagiyamanavâla Chetti (Âdivarâha Chetti's son), Tiruvambala Chetti, Kulandai Chetti, Bâpu Râo, Râmachandra Râo—seven persons in all—have been imprisoned in the clock-tower, while Tailappa Chetti, Pichakuppan and the son of Rangappa Mudali (M. Dupleix' writer) and others in the Nayinâr's house, in order to make them pay. When it was demanded where Guruvappa Chetti, Dharmasiva Chetti and Mândai Mudali were, answer was made that they had left the place. I hear that the peons ordered to keep watch have been sent to fetch them.

One thousand English horse, 2,000 foot and 1,000 Europeans under the command of Mr. Colonel Coote appeared before Valudâvûr and reconnoitred it, Pûtturai and other places, and their horse advanced right up to the Bounds. Therefore 200 of our troopers were despatched, but they returned as the enemy's horse were too strong. Owing to this alarm, there is a panic here and those who had returned to the town are going out again, owing to the demands for money, the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 59 *infra*.

imprisonment of individuals, and the fear of the swift advance of the English.

Annâmalai Mudali, my *amaldâr* in charge of Tirumangalam and Nerkunam, and Ponnalai Pillai have also returned hither owing to the appearance of English horse in those parts.

*Sunday, April 13.*<sup>1</sup>—At seven o'clock this morning the frigate *Baleine* returned here from Mauritius, after landing the Comte d'Estaing, Alvares and the son of M. Boyelleau's wife's daughter who sailed from here. She brought besides news, 50 chests of silver.

When the English admiral Mr. Cornish was besieging Kârikâl, the *Compagnie des Indes*, on her way here from Mauritius with 60 chests of silver, approached the Kârikâl roads, but though the captain of an English ship pursued her, she escaped, whither is not known. The officials who visit me say they learn from the captain that she will return in about ten days. I hear that M. Lally and M. Leyrit have read the letters brought by this ship. Hearing that the son of M. Boyelleau's wife's daughter had died of small-pox at the age of five on the voyage to Europe by way of Mauritius, I sent Appâvu to condole with M. Boyelleau, his wife, her daughter and her husband Dusaussaye.

Since yesterday the Englishman, Colonel Coote, has been preparing to raise batteries against the Valudâvûr fort, which has been firing upon him. The troops sent out from here yesterday are encamped on the Perumbai hill, and M. Lally, who went with Europeans, has roached Perumbai in order to attack the English to-night.

*Monday, April 14.*<sup>1</sup>—I heard the following news to-day :—The *Baleine* which arrived here yesterday and which, I said above, brought 50 chests of silver, has not really brought silver but only 25 bales of broadcloth, some silk captured from the English with European clothes, powder, shot and wheat. The truth of the news that the *Compagnie des Indes* was bringing 60 chests of silver will be learnt only on her arrival.

Europeans say that M. Lally publicly declared to-day that his master the King had sent by this ship an order appointing him Governor until peace had been made between the French and English who are fighting in Europe. They also say that M. Lally after reading the Europe letters brought by this ship, ordered the letters for other persons to be burnt without being delivered.



I hear that the English, who intend to raise batteries and besiege Valudâvûr, are removing certain things to Wandiwash. Although 3,000 soldiers, 1,000 horse and 6,000 or 7,000 sepoy of our army were encamped on the Perumbai hill, yet they only looked on while the English troops were attacking Valudâvûr from the batteries which they had raised. People say that they did this in order to test the fighting qualities of the strong English force against the 100 Europeans and Coffrees and 100 or 200 sepoy in the Valudâvûr fort.<sup>1</sup> The English fired guns until ten o'clock at night when they ceased, and, as they were strong in horse and foot, they attacked our troops on the Perumbai hill. The latter, being tired, retreated to Olukarai, Reddipâlaiyam, Pâdirikôyil and the Bound-hedge, while the English set fire to two or three huts on the Perumbai hill, and carried away the goods which our people had left behind.<sup>2</sup>

*Tuesday, April 15.*<sup>3</sup>—I hear that M. Lally returned after driving out as far as the Perumbai hill this morning. The English, who raised batteries against the Valudâvûr fort, are firing shot and shell incessantly and have entered the town. People say that it is

<sup>1</sup> The garrison consisted of 80 Europeans and 280 sepoy. Coote's Journal, April 17, 1760 (*Orme MSS. India*, viii, p. 1939).

<sup>2</sup> For Coote's very skilful tactics at this time, see Orme, ii, 626, etc.

<sup>3</sup> 7th Chittirai, Vikrama.

very strange that though so many of our troops are encamped near at hand, yet they have not gone to the help of our people and that therefore the fort will fall into their hands to-day. The merchants, who have been pressed for payment for the last two or three days, and imprisoned in the Fort, appealed to the *mahânâttârs* yesterday evening, requesting that, as they had been asked to pay a tax of 1,20,000 rupees, they should intercede on their behalf and settle the matter, or otherwise they would give in a list of their (the *mahânâttârs*') property. The *mahânâttârs* only replied they had nothing to do with the taxes imposed on the others. To-day again the sepoys carried the merchants to the Fort and imprisoned them there. In alarm at this, many are leaving the town.

*Wednesday, April 16.*<sup>1</sup>—At half-past one or two this afternoon, I heard that the *Compagnie des Indes*, which people said should have arrived before the *Baleine* which arrived on the 5th,<sup>2</sup> had anchored in the roads. Salutes of eleven guns each were fired by the ships and the Fort, and the captain, after landing, went with the letters to the Fort. Two *Padrés* who arrived by her are said to be at the Mission church. I hear that, at five o'clock

<sup>1</sup> 8th Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> April 13.

this evening, M. Guillard, the Second, walked to the Mission church to visit them and ascertain the news, with his roundel-boy holding his roundel, but, as he was returning by the Brâhman street after conversing with them, and was passing by Nakal Guruvayyan's house, he stumbled and fell, but, having recovered consciousness after a while, he was able to return home. The townspeople were very sorry for this accident because he has helped them a good deal. I shall enquire and write what things this ship has brought.

Though the attack on Valudâvûr continued to-day, our people did not succour those in the fort ; however the latter are replying to the enemy, and the result remains to be seen.

At seven o'clock to-night I heard that, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Coote, the English commander, took the Valudâvûr fort by escalade, capturing the French soldiers and sepoy and hoisting the English flag.<sup>1</sup> Sîtârâma Jôsier saying that, according to the *Shâstras*, there are 56 side and 4 tap roots to the human body, foretold that, if the 56 side roots and the northern and eastern roots died, leaving the southern and western

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<sup>1</sup> On this day the garrison, being summoned by Major Robert Gordon who was conducting the siege, agreed to surrender the next day. Coote's Journal (*Orme MSS. India*, viii, 1938).

roots intact, or if the southern and western roots died while the northern and eastern roots were unhurt, life would continue. According to him, 59 $\frac{7}{8}$  roots have perished from my body, leaving only one-eighth of the southern root. The Jôsier said that I would reign supreme and the southern root would continue for 100 years all but three hours and a half. As the Saturn is in the ascendant over the town, the 56 side roots of the town have perished, besides the northern and eastern roots, leaving only the southern and western roots unharmed; but now the southern root has died, and by to-day the western root will also be dead. This shows that the town has reached its full age. As such is the position of the French, a new Governor will arrive, and the Gingee Fort will be captured, and by the evil influence of Venus, those in power will be removed; but then the good influence of Venus will come into play, under which the Gingee and Tanjore forts, and Madras will be captured; General Pottu<sup>1</sup> will advance up to Golconda and the country will fall under the French sway. As the Sun, the master of *Lagna*, is in the zenith, the influence of Venus,

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<sup>1</sup> I am very uncertain whom Ranga Pillai means by this. It may be the Chevalier du Poëte; but I do not know that he was eminent enough to be regarded as a likely leader.

etc., will be overpowered. This is Sîtârâma Jôsier's prediction which is being fulfilled.

*Thursday, April 17.*<sup>1</sup>—The English who hoisted their flag on the Villiyanallûr *gôpuram*<sup>2</sup> have seized the Villiyanallûr country and tied *tôranams* right up to the Bound-hedge from which they can be seen. There was a battle between the French and the English to-day at the Perumbai hill but the former retreated to Olukarai, Ella Pillai's Choultry, etc. places. The English have tied *tôranams* in Ariyânkuppam and elsewhere. Subbâ Jôsier predicted that the English would occupy Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry, the Bound-hedge and Ariyânkuppam, and his predictions have proved true. It remains to be seen what will happen. Up to *Vibhava*<sup>3</sup> Ariyânkuppam, Murungampâkkam, Olukarai and the Bound-villages and Kâlâpattu were in the enjoyment of our people, and to-day the enemy occupy these places with the exception of Kâlâpattu. It remains to be seen what will happen from to-morrow.

M. Gadeville, the European poligar<sup>4</sup>, summoned the *mahânâttârs*, and demanded of them what money had been collected, to which they replied that they had none. Thereon he

<sup>1</sup> 9th Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> The wedge-shaped tower over the entrance of a temple.

<sup>3</sup> 1748-1749.

<sup>4</sup> i.e., head of the police.

beat one or two Chettis among the *mahânât-târs*, and told them that unless they, who had paid 5,000 rupees to M. Guillard, paid 8,000 rupees now, they would be imprisoned. I hear that the *mahânâttârs*, who are assembled in Satta Perumâl Ayyan's building, are therefore writing out a list of the tax which each should pay.

I also hear that Bâpu Râo, Râmachandra Râo, writer Rangappa Mudali's son, the Company's merchants and others—13 persons in all—who have been imprisoned for 1,20,000 rupees, are still in prison. As the English have hoisted their flag on the Villiyanallûr *gôpuram* and are attacking the French troops encamped outside, and as people here are being pressed to pay taxes, many who returned from outside are afraid of continuing in the town and are leaving it to-day. The townspeople are in great alarm and I cannot describe their condition.

Mutta Pillai of the dancing-girl caste owes me 5,000 or 10,000; but Râmalinga Pillai arranged that I should receive 400 rupees for the present. When the money was demanded, I was told that there was no money here but that I should be paid if I went to the village. Râmalinga Pillai gave me a letter about the money and I sent my peon for it, but the peon not finding Mutta Pillai in Tiruvennanallûr,

etc. places, returned to me with Râmalinga Pillai's letter.

*Friday, April 18.*<sup>1</sup>—I hear to-day that Râmachandra Râo, Bâpu Râo, writer Rangappa Mudali's son, the Company's merchants and others—13 persons in all—who are being kept in prison in the Fort in order to make them pay, and are only let out for their food, approached M. Leyrit, the Governor, and said, 'How can we pay when we are kept in custody? We have already paid whatever we had. If the *mahânâttârs* are summoned, and we are allowed to confer with them, we will arrange to pay in accordance with the share fixed for each.' Thereon M. Leyrit, the Governor, summoned the *mahânâttârs* and said to them that the Company needed two lakhs of rupees for their expenses and that they must arrange with those in custody to pay the amount. The *mahânâttârs* replied, 'We have already paid what we can, by selling our goods, and we cannot pay anything more.'— 'Don't answer thus,' the Governor replied, 'for we have no money for the expenses. Arrange with Bâpu Râo and the Company's merchants—13 persons—and try to pay.' As Râmachandra Râo has taken into his confidence some of the *mahânâttârs* and Kanakasabhai (a Vellâla), the latter alone agreed to

this proposal and the rest of the *mahânâttârs* were against it. The latter therefore said, 'We are poor, for we have already given all we had. We cannot give more. You should make a levy on those who can pay. We have nothing to do with the rest.' As M. Loyrit has been already won over by certain of the *mahânâttârs*, on noticing Tillai Maistri speaking thus while wearing two pairs of ear-rings and two or three rings, he said, 'If those who wear ear-rings and rings sell them, the required amount can be made up. You should therefore discuss the matter and find the money.' He then called the Nayinâr and told him to collect them together, fix each man's share, and collect the money. The people then left the Governor.

I hear that the Governor said to the Choultry-writer, 'The *mahânâttârs* say that money cannot be collected, because people have gone out ; I will not therefore allow any one to leave the town. Those houses in which the masters remain though the inmates have gone, need not be listed, but only those houses the masters of which have gone away leaving their families and children in the town.' The Choultry-monigars informed me that a list of such houses in the several streets was made accordingly.



The English have captured Valudâvûr and tied *tôranams* in the country round ; what they will do hereafter remains to be seen, for our people are busy collecting money from the inhabitants of the town without caring to attack and defeat the enemy, or seek revenge. Such is the state of affairs here.

I hear that orders were given at the Bounds at eight o'clock to-night not to allow the townspeople to pass out.

*Saturday, April 19.*<sup>1</sup>—I heard the following news to-day :—All the *mahânâttârs* assembled at Sêshâchala Chotti's house to-day and sent for four chief men from the castes. Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai went accordingly. Of these Kandappa Mudali asked why they had been sent for. He was told that, as M. Leyrit, the Governor, had demanded two lakhs of rupees, they had been sent for to discuss the matter and settle and write out what each should pay. Kandappa Mudali did not relish this and replied, ' Have you paid a lakh or fifty thousand as we have ? Have we sent bags of money in chelingas to Negapatam, Tranquebar, Tanjore, etc. places as you did ? Let those give who have. Why have we been sent for ? ' He was told that they had only been sent for by the Governor's

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<sup>1</sup> 11th Chittirai, Vikrama.

orders. 'Then, let us go to the Governor,' Kandappa Mudali answered. The Shânârs and two or three other *nâttârs* said, 'We paid money in spite of our poverty when none of the rich did so ; and now again the poor are being oppressed. Let us all go to the Perumâl temple, swear before the God the worth of each man's property and let it be written. Then let those pay who can afford to pay.' Râmachandra Râo, Kanakasabhai Mudali and certain others then observed that there need be no delay, for, when the matter had been sworn, it could be reported to the Governor the same evening. Then all went home. I will write later on what decision they take.

The *mahânâttârs*, after dispersing this afternoon, reassembled near the St. Paul's church this evening and went to M. Leyrit, the Governor, at the Fort to lay the matter before him. But the time proved unsuitable, for at ten o'clock two guns were fired at the Fort, the *tambour* beat and the Europeans were drawn up. So they returned, intending to see him to-morrow.

*Sunday, April 20.*<sup>1</sup>—I hear to-day that yesterday evening 200 English troopers tied *tôranams* at Cuddalore, Tiruppâppuliyûr, Manjakuppam, etc. places, and that before the

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<sup>1</sup> 12th Chittirai, Vikrama.

appearance of the numerous English who were expected, the French commander with his 30 Topass soldiers, arrived here in a chelinga, with nothing but what he had on, and that in consequence, the English who have tied *tôranams* are prospering there, and have appointed a Brâhman as *amaldâr*.

I hear that, when the *mahânâttârs* assembled at noon to-day to declare their property, Râmachandra Râo and Bâpu Râo refused, whereon the others complained to M. Leyrit who ordered them to pay two lakhs of rupees ; but when they represented that they had nothing left as they had been reduced to poverty by their frequent payments, they were only ordered to be imprisoned, and Râmachandra Râo, Bâpu Râo, the Company's merchants and others, 13 in all, besides 13 of the *mahânâttârs*—26 altogether—had been imprisoned over the West Gate of the Fort.

I also hear that M. Lally, who has been ailing these three days, is confined to his room with the door closed and no one is allowed admission.

*Monday, April 21.*<sup>1</sup>—At three o'clock this afternoon, the European who is M. Pouly's second<sup>2</sup> came on horseback with the Nayinâr and told me that M. Leyrit wanted me. 'Don't

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<sup>1</sup> 13th Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Pouly was provost-martial.

you know,' I asked, 'that I have been unwell for the last four months?'—'Then,' they answered, 'you must send one of your people.' When I proposed Mēlugiri Chetti, the European said, 'You, Pāpayya Pillai and Periyanna Mudali have been sent for; the last and Pāpayya Pillai's son have gone, but you have not. You had better send your younger brother's son.' I therefore sent Appāvu. They took him to M. Courtin who was councillor in Bengal and who has been entrusted with the work of collecting the tax here. M. Courtin told Appāvu to wait for him upstairs at the Fort. Appāvu stayed with the *mahânâttârs* over the West Gate of the Fort. M. Courtin then came, and, taking Appāvu aside, asked him to pay something for the Company's expenses. Appāvu replied, 'What have I got? I have already sold at the mint my property and goods and paid 10,000 rupees for nothing. When M. La Selle demanded money, I explained my circumstances to him, and after enquiries he excused me, having satisfied himself that I was worth nothing. This is known to all.'—'Well,' he said; 'I have asked the *mahânâttârs* for two lakhs of rupees; arrange to get this amount from them.' Appāvu replied, 'The *mahânâttârs* are here, so you can ask them yourself, and I will interpret for you.' He asked the *mahânâttârs*

accordingly. They answered, 'What money have we? We have already paid all we had.' Thereon he ordered Râmachandra, Râo and Bâpu Râo to be imprisoned in the dungeon at the West Gate of the Fort and the rest over the gate, and told Appâvu to remain with the *mahânâttârs* at the Fort for the night as otherwise it would look ill. Appâvu remained accordingly. Kandappa Mudali, M. Leyrit's dubâsh, has also been imprisoned. It was Râmachandra Râo who told M. Leyrit to send for Appâvu, Periyanna Mudali and Pâpayya Pillai's son; and when they arrived, Râmachandra Râo observed smilingly to the *mahânâttârs* that he had made them come, so by the mercy of God they have been put into the dungeon. I at once sent word to M. Guillard the Second, M. Boyelleau, M. [Le] Verrier and the other councillors about this disrespect, but they only sent word in reply, 'We and the walls are one, so what use telling us about it?'

*Tuesday, April 22.*<sup>1</sup>—At ten o'clock this morning M. Courtin, the Bengal councillor, sent for Appâvu and asked him whether he had conferred with the *mahânâttârs* and whether the money matter had been settled. Appâvu replied that they had said that they

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<sup>1</sup> 14th Chittirai, Vikrama.

could not give anything. 'Well,' he replied; 'ask them again; you<sup>1</sup> are the Company's *courtier* and as such must attend to the Company's business.' When Appâvu asked the *mahânâttârs*, they who had replied stiffly yesterday that, though the town was in distress, they could not manage the two lakhs that had been demanded of them, but that they could try their best if a smaller and proper amount was mentioned, to-day spoke more smoothly. Appâvu therefore informed M. Courtin that, if he agreed to their wishes, there would be a chance of success. 'Well,' he answered, 'give me a list of the rich in the town with their property.' Appâvu replied, 'I do not know their estates, but I will ask my father and report.'—'Do so,' he replied, and added, 'I want to speak to your father<sup>2</sup> about this; so if he can come, well and good; or else I must myself go and speak to him, as it is the Company's business.' Appâvu replied, 'He has been suffering for the last four months from dysentery and toothache. How can he come when he can hardly sit up? However I will go and speak to him and return.'—'Do so,' he answered. When M. Courtin reported this to M. Leyrit, the

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<sup>1</sup> Called so apparently because he had been sent to act on his uncle's behalf. See p 57 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking, uncle.

latter remembering his former anger against me said that he should get M. Lally's orders. M. Courtin returned after talking with M. Lally and dismissed Appâvu, telling him to go home for his food and return after speaking to his father. He also told the *mahânâttârs* to return after eating and then went home. When he was asked in his house to allow Râmachandra Râo and Bâpu Râo to go out for their food, he replied that M. Lally's orders were required for that and that he would let them know after consulting him at four o'clock. Appâvu reported this to me.

I sent the following reply by him:—‘How can I know the property of the townspeople? I should only mention a certain sum, when I can prove it if questioned. M. La Selle made out a list of assessments for three lakhs of rupees and tried to collect 1,30,000 or 1,40,000 rupees; but after greatly troubling the people, he was only able to collect half the amount in six months. At a time when the country was prosperous, M. Leyrit took three months to collect 8,000 rupees. But the town has been declining for the last ten years and the townspeople have almost disappeared. The enemy is near. The well-to-do have become beggars and beggars have grown rich. Those who are worth nothing may be making a show, but when examined will prove nothing. Thus the

town has declined, and people cannot find the lakh or two lakhs now demanded. I will try if you can see your way to fix a smaller sum.' Appâvu has gone with this message, but no reply has yet been received. I will write it down when I learn it.

When M. Lally sent for M. Guillard and told him to collect the tax, he replied, 'I have almost killed myself with my labours to secure money for the sepoys' pay from nine persons at the rate of 50 rupees each and to get 5,000 rupees from the *mahânâttârs*. I cannot therefore collect anything from the poor.' M. Lally replied that he would remove him from the post of Second. 'Very good,' M. Guillard replied, 'I have already said that I do not want the appointment. Now that you say so, I am much obliged.' I hear that M. Guillard after reporting this to M. Leyrit, went home.

To-morrow is M. Leyrit's feast-day, so a salute of 21 guns was fired at the Fort at six o'clock this evening. It is usual to fire salutes for the Governor's feast-day not on the day before but on the day itself, commencing at five o'clock in the morning. But since M. Lally came out as head, the feast was not observed last year or the year before ; and he went on the feast-day to Olukarai, etc., and returned. As he [M. Lally] is the King's man



and is Lieutenant-General, a salute of 21 guns has been fired for him alone on the day before his feast, but in order to please M. Leyrit, M. Lally has ordered a salute of 21 guns to be fired to-day.

I hear that at six o'clock this evening, Râmachandra Râo and Bâpu Râo were released for their food, being allowed to stay at home all night and return to the Fort the next morning.

*Wednesday, April 23.*<sup>1</sup>—In honour of M. Leyrit's feast-day to-day, salutes of 21 guns were fired by the Fort and by the ships at five o'clock this morning. The Second and some of the councillors visited M. Leyrit at nine o'clock ; and everything was made ready at the church for mass, for firing guns and for carrying the flags. I do not know what happened afterwards between M. Lally and M. Leyrit, but the latter did not go to mass, and did not even remain in the Fort, but dined at M. Lenoir's house. It is the well-known European custom for the Governor to fire salutes, go to church and hear mass, then return home, give a feast and enjoy the day. It is also the custom for the others, however poor they may be, to go with a few friends to church, hear mass, return home, partake with them of the food prepared according to their means and

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<sup>1</sup> 15th Chittirai, Vikrama.

enjoy the day. But to-day there has been no such thing. I do not know what happened between M. Leyrit and M. Lally to-day to induce the former to remain in the Fort with his door closed ordering nobody to be admitted, and then go out.

M. Courtin went with M. Gadenville to the *mahânâttârs'* place and asked them about the money affair, on which they had said they would report after having conferred with Râmachandra Râo and Bâpu Râo. The *mahânâttârs* replied, 'How can we pay the two lakhs you ask for? If you will mention an amount which we can manage, we will let you know.' M. Courtin replied that he had M. Lally's orders to collect two lakhs of rupees. They replied that they could not pay so much. He continued, 'If you do not pay, M. Lally has ordered you to be hanged.' They answered, 'You are *dorais*, you can do what you please. We are here and you may hang us.' M. Courtin said, 'That won't do. The names of all of you will be written on pieces of paper and drawn by lot. Those whose names are drawn first will be hanged and so successively, unless you pay.'—'Why so?' they answered, 'hang us now.' Then M. Leyrit arrived and M. Courtin reported everything to him. 'True,' M. Leyrit replied; 'they have paid already three or four times and are now

lean. How can they manage two lakhs of rupees at once? They may agree if the amount be reduced and some time allowed; but how can they pay it down?' M. Courtin said that M. Lally had given orders to collect two lakhs of rupees. M. Leyrit answered, 'If that is the case, the few that are in the town will go away, and not a fanam will come in. It can only produce a panic.' So saying he departed.

Afterwards M. Courtin and M. Gadeville took Râmachandra Râo and Bâpu Râo aside, and, after abusing them in private ordered them both to be shut up in the dungeon by the East Gate under a European [guard]. Appâvu did not learn what was said. As Tillai Maistri and Alagiyamanavâla Chetti were the spokesmen of the *mahânâttârs*, M. Courtin and M. Gadeville ordered them to be imprisoned, and then went home. Thus four persons have been imprisoned. As the Europeans at the dungeon spat at [the prisoners], broke their ear-rings and inflicted other injuries, while demanding money, the prisoners gave them some small sum and afterwards removed their ear-rings and sent them home. The *mahânâttârs* were not allowed to go home for their food till this evening. Appâvu reported the above news to me at one o'clock.

It remains to be seen what happens to-night and to-morrow.

The frigate *Baleine* brought two Europe letters, one from M. Godeheu, and the other from the Company, which M. Boyelleau sent to me by his writer Vêlâyudha Pillai who delivered them to me.

Râmachandra Râo and Bâpu Râo have been released on promising to pay 20,000 rupees, which they would procure from outside. The *mahânâttârs* said that Chinna Mudali and Sûrappa Mudali—seven or eight Christians in all—had been summoned and that men had gone to fetch them. Seeing that Râmachandra Râo and Bâpu Râo had been let out, Kandappa Mudali also departed on the pretext that M. Leyrit had sent for him. This is what I heard to-night.

*Thursday, April 24.*<sup>1</sup>—Appâvu, who went to the Fort this morning, returned at one o'clock and reported to me that M. Lally, M. Leyrit, M. Guillard and the other councillors sat in council till eleven o'clock, but that he had not learnt their proceedings and that not a word had been said about the *mahânâttârs'* affair. Tillai Maistri and Alagiyamanavâla Chetti who are in prison have been permitted to go home for their food.

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<sup>1</sup> 16th Chittirai, Vikrama,

I hear that, when the council declared that, if people were pressed for money, they would go out (as many have already done) and that in consequence the town would decline, M. Lally observed that they knew more about it than he did, for he had had nothing to do with such things and had left M. Leyrit in sole charge of money matters.

The English have tied *tôranams* at Chidambaram and Porto Novo. The French commander at Gingee is plundering the country round, and the rest of the country is in the hands of the English.

I hear that Appu Mudali and sunken-eyed Sadâsiva Reddi of Reddipâlaiyam have paid 18,000 rupees as a nazar in return for a lease of the Villiyûr country at a rent of 25,000 pagodas of 24 small fanams each.

M. Leyrit and M. Courtin after writing down this evening certain names from the list of collections prepared by M. La Sello and also the names of the persons now present, summoned the *mahânâttârs* at six and demanded money of them. They replied that they would somehow manage to pay 50,000 rupees. M. Leyrit and M. Courtin replied that M. Lally's orders were to obtain two lakhs of rupees from them and that they must pay this amount. The *mahânâttârs* [replied] that they had no money and they were quite prepared

to be hanged. They were told that they would certainly be hanged. 'Very well, do so,' they replied. M. Leyrit said, 'You proposed to M. Gadeville to pay 1,30,000 rupees through Pâncu, the Colombo arrack contractor, so why do you talk thus to me now?' The *mahânâttârs* replied, 'We never agreed to 1,30,000 rupees, but Pâncu, of his own accord, offered to settle the matter for this amount. We told him that M. La Selle had taken six months to collect 1,30,000 rupees by sending men to gallows<sup>1</sup> and imprisoning or otherwise troubling them, and that not a cash could be expected now. This is all; and we never made any offers.' Thereon M. Leyrit and M. Courtin expressed their surprise to each other that M. Gadeville had told M. Lally at the council that the *mahânâttârs* had agreed for 1,30,000 rupees, observing that it was his way to tell such scheming lies. I hear that they talked thus because they did not like the management of the affair being confided to M. Gadeville. M. Courtin then said that they had large sums, and must pay. They replied, 'Allow us to go out with the cloths which our women are wearing and with eight covids of cloth for ourselves, and then you may seize our houses and property.' But they were

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. xi, 399, etc., *supra*.

answered that they had sent their money, goods, etc., to Tranquebar, Negapatam and other places, and must fetch money from outside to answer future demands. Subbi Chetti (Chûnâmpattu Râmi Chetti's son) whispered to M. Courtin that Alagiyamanavâla Chetti, Narasimha Chetti, Tillai Maistri and Kanakasabhai Mudali wanted to talk to him privately. M. Courtin said that they might be told to come to-morrow morning, and left, telling them to go home for supper and come the next morning. As the *mahânâttârs* had been so obstinate till yesterday, the councillors resolved at to-day's council not to threaten them but to treat them gently. But now, as the *mahânâttârs* have relaxed and agreed to a certain sum, and as four of them have desired to talk privately, I conclude that they have thus given a chance to the others to exact money from them.

*Friday, April 25.*<sup>1</sup>—When Appâvu went to the Fort to-day, M. Leyrit and M. Courtin called him and said that he, Mutta Pillai and writer Rangappa Mudali's son had to pay 20,000 rupees. Appâvu replied, 'I cannot pay anything for I have nothing. There has been no business for six years and I have been sitting at home without any appointment. The

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<sup>1</sup> 17th Chittirai, Vikrama.

year before last I paid 10,000 rupees by selling goods and melting things at the mint ; but I have not even enough to keep myself, so I cannot give anything.'—'In that case,' they said, 'there is the dungeon.'—'You are *dorais*,' Appâvu said, 'when *you* say so, what can *I* do?'—'Shut him up in the dungeon,' they said. Then writer Rangappa Mudali's son was asked. He replied, 'I have not a cash. At the time of my father's death, I was young ; so he entrusted me and his small savings to Periyanna Mudali's care. Periyanna Mudali has been giving me four or five<sup>1</sup> every month for my maintenance. When I ask him for money, he says that the Company has taken it away and that he has nothing left. You may recover it from him and take it.' M. Leyrit observed that that was true, and money should be collected from the wealthy, but M. Courtin replied that, if Monsieur said so, money would never come in, and that he should be made to pay. M. Leyrit remained silent, and all three were put in the dungeon as ordered. Then Sûrappa Mudali and Varlâm Mudali were asked to pay 20,000 rupees. They replied that they had nothing left, after the two or three contributions which they had made, so they also were

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<sup>1</sup> *Sc.* rupees.



ordered to be put in the dungeon. Pâpayya Pillai's son and Guntûr Narasimha Chetti were asked to pay 6,000 and 10,000 rupees respectively. They said they had nothing, and they also have been ordered to be shut up. Thus seven persons have been put in the dungeon.

*Saturday, April 26.*<sup>1</sup>—As I am unwell, I sent a petition to M. Lally by Bishop Padré Noronha of Mylapore, who gave the petition to M. Lally at noon, and spoke to him. M. Lally said that he had heard I had a great stock of goods and jewels, and that money might be procured by their sale. The Padré said, 'What can we demand when it has been declared in writing that he has nothing? We cannot get what a man has not got; he cannot give anything.' M. Lally replied that he must enquire before the release.<sup>2</sup> After some discussion, M. Leyrit and M. Courtin sent for Appâvu and the six others, and asked what they had done about the money. Appâvu replied, 'We have already explained everything to you; what can we say when you question us again? What use is any money we have but to serve the Company's business? We are willing to give all we have.'—'Then,' they replied, 'there is the dungeon.'—'As you

<sup>1</sup> 18th Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. of Appâvu.

please,' Appâvu answered, 'put us in the dungeon or where you like.' They continued, 'Well, go home and come back to-morrow morning.' So all went home. Appâvu reported all this to me. The *mahânâttârs* have not been asked to pay, and were released at seven o'clock to-night for their food.

There was a fight at Perumbai hill between the English at Valudâvûr and our people, after which the former retired beyond it and the latter this side.

*Sunday, April 27.*<sup>1</sup>—When Appâvu went to the Fort at eleven o'clock this morning, M. Leyrit and M. Courtin sent for him and asked him about the money. Appâvu replied, 'A petition was presented yesterday from which you may learn everything. Shall we refuse what we have in the Company's need?' M. Leyrit and M. Courtin replied that he must pay something. He answered, 'I have done nothing, nor held any appointment, for the last five or six years; how then can I pay? I would if I could.'—'Why has not your father<sup>2</sup> come?' they asked. Appâvu replied, 'I have already told you that he has not been well.'—'Then,' they rejoined, 'you will have to be troubled and shut up in the dungeon.' So saying they ordered Appâvu, Mutta Pillai and writer

<sup>1</sup> 19th Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 59 and n. *supra*.

Rangappa Mudali's son to be shut in the dungeon.

Afterwards Sûrappa Mudali, Varlâm Mudali, Pâpayya Pillai's son and Guntûr Narasimha Chetti were asked; and they, giving the same reply, were also ordered to be imprisoned in a dungeon.

I hear that ten or twelve English ships and sloops are in the Cuddalore roads.

People from Bommarâjapâlaiyam say that the Maratha sardâr Balwanta Râo with 20,000 or 30,000 horse is near Cuddapah and that Musili Nâyakkan (Matalavâr's dalavâi) has joined him.<sup>1</sup>

*Monday, April 28<sup>2</sup>.*—M. Loyrit, M. Guillard and other councillors, but not M. Lally, sat in council to-day from nine o'clock to noon when they separated. I hear the council resolved as follows :—The Mysoreans formerly wrote that Haidar Nâyak would come with a small force, seize the Arcot, etc., countries, beat the English, seize Madras, and settle the French affairs if the French agreed under the signature of M. Lally, the councillors standing sureties, to give them in return the Eravâsanûr country and Tyâgadrag with its jaghir as *inam*, besides a monthly payment of a lakh of rupees, ten 18-pounders, and the necessary

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Orme ii, 502.

<sup>2</sup> 20th Chittirai, Vikrama.

powder and shot, the payment of the lakh of rupees commencing in two months' time. The French have now agreed to the proposal and sent a reply.<sup>1</sup>

Although M. Leyrit and M. Courtin were formerly entrusted with the business of collecting money from the *mahânâttârs*, to-day's council decided that M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau and M. Courtin should attend to it. These three persons assembled therefore at M. Guillard's house, and examined M. La Selle's account and the account of the taxes already collected. It remains to be seen what will happen.

Sîyâla Pillai (the Choultry monigar), Savarimuttu, and the Nayinâr were told to make out a list of the rich men in the town ; but the two former replied that they did not know how much people had, whereon M. Courtin gave M. Boyelleau a French writing, containing the names of certain persons in the town. I hear that M. Boyelleau is getting a list written by the Choultry monigar. It remains to be seen what will happen.

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<sup>1</sup> The account of the treaty is substantially correct, except that two lakhs were to be paid two months after Haidar had joined the French with 2,000 horse, 3,000 foot, and some artillery, and one lakh a month thereafter. There were further provisions also. The treaty was negotiated by Noronha, and was confirmed by the Pondichery Council on June 28. The English had no news of the matter until May 24. I do not think the council was formally consulted at this time, unless Leyrit misdates the meeting. See Orme ii, 637, etc., and Leyrit, *Mémoire*, p. 463.

I hear that M. Lally and others have visited the house of the Bishop Padré of Mylapore on the occasion of the marriage of the Bishop's elder sister's child.

I hear that yesterday M. Lally gave the council three lists—one containing the names of persons of the several castes—Brâhmans, Vellâlas, Agamudaiyans, and Idaiyans ; the second containing the names of persons of the several castes and of others outside them ; and the third containing the names of a few of the caste-men and a few of the rest. These lists allege that each person is worth at least 1,000 rupees ; even the Kômutti who sells rotten gram and the Chetti who sells stale betel leaves and maggoty nut have been set down at 1,000 rupees. In one of the lists I am set down at 40,000 rupees, in another at 30,000 and in the third at 20,000. These lists M. Lally presented to the council, saying, ' These lists show what money is in the town. Though the enemy is near, we have no money for the army and the troops must be paid if they are to attack and defeat the enemy. Therefore money must be collected according to the lists.' The councillors said nothing, and afterwards separated. M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau, M. Duplant and M. Courtin were appointed to collect the amount, but M. Duplant who was unwilling to have anything to do with the business,

excused himself by saying that he was unwell, and confined to his house. The rest are at M. Guillard's house making out a list with the help of the Choultry monigar. M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau grieve much that the times compel them to oppress the poor and the beggars. I hear that the three lists were drawn up one by Kandappa Mudali, the second by Subban (Chûnâmpattu Râmi Chetti's son), and the third by Râjagôpâl (Vîrâ Nâyakkan's son).

*Tuesday, April 29.*<sup>1</sup>—At three o'clock this afternoon, M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau, M. Courtin and M. Duplant at M. Guillard's sent an official who is an *habitant*<sup>2</sup> to fetch me. He said that if I did not go with him, soldiers would be sent to bring me. 'Very well,' I replied, and, believing that he said this in the expectation of my pleading ill-health, I continued, 'As an officer like you has come, I will follow you.' So saying I went to M. Guillard's house and the four said, 'M. Lally has three lists, one of which contains 160 names in the hand of the Choultry-writer. You have been sent for to examine it, and to make out impartially with Chinna Mudali a list for two lakhs of rupees, having due regard for each man's means and difficulties.' But, when he<sup>3</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> 21st Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., a native of Pondichery.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Chinna Mudali.

sent for, he sent word that he was unwell and could not walk owing to a rheumatic swelling of the leg. They then having sent for Râmachandra Râo, told me, Swâmi Pillai (the Choultry justice's man), the Nayinâr, Alagappa Mudali (the Choultry monigar), Sîyâla Pillai, Savarimuttu, Râmachandra Râo, Irisappa Chetti, Muttu Chetti, eight persons in all,<sup>1</sup> to make a list for two lakhs of rupees. I asked what was to be done if two lakhs could not be got, after due consideration of each man's means. 'Well, you had better write and then you may go,' they replied and went away. When they came back at seven o'clock, I and Râmachandra Râo said, 'We do not know what Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, Savari-râya Pillai and Pâpayya Pillai are worth ; but we will write the worth of other persons which will amount to about a lakh.' They angrily said, 'If you will write out a list for two lakhs of rupees, well and good ; if not, you shall be put in the dungeon or treated in such and such a way.' M. Courtin then departed. I and Râmachandra Râo began to write the names at seven o'clock, and said to M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau, 'You want us to show exactly two lakhs of rupees. We cannot manage that.' They replied, 'Why do you contradict M.

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<sup>1</sup> Nine including the Diarist.

Courtin ? Write what he desires.' As there was no alternative for us under such compulsion, we were busy the whole night without even time to drink water, and wrote out a list for 1,40,000 or 1,50,000 rupees, excluding the names of Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai and Pâpayya Pillai, and gave it in the next morning. This only roused M. Courtin's anger, and he insisted that two lakhs must be shown. I replied, 'Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai say that they have already paid large sums, that they are in debt, have nothing, and cannot pay. Pâpayya Pillai is worth nothing. How can we know their means ?' He replied, 'I have heard that they are worth four times as much as they have paid. Write therefore, or else you will be put in the dungeon, shipped off to Mascareigne and Mauritius, or otherwise punished.' Thereon we made the amount up to two lakhs, and he took the writing and permitted us to go home for food at six o'clock in the evening of the second day. We were kept in custody for twelve hours on Tuesday and for twelve hours on Wednesday, for 24 hours altogether, without even drinking water, and at last, being set free, we returned home.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The latter part of this day's diary evidently belongs chronologically to the following day.



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*Wednesday, April 30.*<sup>1</sup>—Having given a list containing 160 names this evening, I came home. I have taken copies of the French list in Tamil and Telugu, and have them at home.

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<sup>1</sup> 22nd Chittirai, Vikrama.

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## MAY 1760.

*Thursday, May 1.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to M. Guillard's this morning, M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau, M. Courtin and M. Duplant discussed with me the lists prepared yesterday ; but as, in spite of my explanations, the matter was not settled, I came home for food, and went back in the evening. They then questioned me again, and, when I had replied, they entered the sums they pleased. I took leave and came home.

*Friday, May 2.*<sup>2</sup>—This morning, when M. Boyelleau, M. Courtin, M. Duplant and M. Guillard had signed the lists prepared according to their pleasure at M. Guillard's yesterday, and were about to go to the Fort, I showed them my petition to the council stating that I could not pay the sum assessed on me. M. Boyelleau read it and agreed that it was true, but the rest returned me the petition saying that they could do nothing, M. Lally having unjustly ordered the amount to be raised. They then departed. Having taken a copy of the petition, I gave the original to M. La Grenée to be presented to the council.

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<sup>1</sup> 23rd Chittirai, Vikrama.<sup>2</sup> 24th Chittirai, Vikrama.

*Saturday, May 3.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to M. Courtin's and complained of my son's<sup>2</sup> imprisonment in the Fort although I had nothing. But he only replied obstinately and harshly that he would transport him to Mascareigne. M. Boyelleau then came, and he said to M. Courtin, 'You know it is not right to treat him so unjustly.' Having asked me to withdraw, he added, 'You know that letters about his business to the council from the Company and the ministers have been received from Europe; you should explain everything to M. Lally and M. Leyrit, and settle the affair.' As M. Courtin still insisted, the former said, 'The townspeople and the rest should not be sacrificed like this till we can no longer keep a foot-hold ashore.' But, in spite of all M. Boyelleau could say, M. Courtin persisted. M. Boyelleau therefore left him and, coming out, told me that he could do nothing with M. Courtin for me or the townspeople. He then went away.

Afterwards I returned to plead with M. Courtin; but he continued in the same strain, adding harshly that, if I did not pay, I too should be shipped off to Mascareigne. I replied, 'I have already decided to go to Europe and so your words are welcome; if

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<sup>1</sup> 25th Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Appavu, the Diarist's nephew seems intended.

you will put my relations and the townspeople with me aboard ship, I will visit Europe and return.' Then M. Porcher and his wife said, 'The Tamils have their money outside, and if time be allowed, they will get it and pay.' I answered, 'Have we made lakhs like the Europeans and sent the money out in chests? How can those who serve the Europeans and trade in cloth be expected to have any money to send out?' So saying I came home.

*Sunday, May 4.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Dubois sent for me at noon to-day, so I went. He showed me a list of 60 persons assessed for a total of 5,85,400 rupees, and asked me about it. I replied that the amount was only visible on paper and could not be realized. 'Well,' he said, 'come back to-morrow and we will talk about it.' I then came home.

As an English ship ventured in-shore, our ships in-shore<sup>2</sup> and the ramparts opened fire until the captain of the English ship put out to sea again. As the English horse also appeared near the Bound-hedge on the west, our people in Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry and Perumbai retired to Ella Pillai's Choultry

<sup>1</sup> 26th Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Sic. There were at least three vessels—the *Compagnie des Indes* and two frigates—lying as near in as they could be got. The *Compagnie des Indes* was equipped as a floating battery,

and the Bounds. For fear that the sums mentioned in the list should be collected, those who still remained in the town, Christians and others, left it to-day.

*Monday, May 5.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to M. Dubois' house this afternoon, Râmalinga Pillai was there. We two with Ayyan Sâstri and Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan—four persons in all—wrote till nine o'clock at night, when I came home saying that I would consider the writing at home and bring it on the morrow.

*Tuesday, May 6.*<sup>2</sup>—Râmalinga Pillai, Ayyan Sâstri, and Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan came to my house this morning. We four wrote a list for 90,000 rupees out of the list of 60 persons for 5,85,000 and odd rupees, besides selecting fifty or sixty names out of the list of 160 names, and thus made up a lakh and a half of rupees. I got this list written in French at [ ] o'clock this evening and told Râmalinga Pillai, Ayyan Sâstri and Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan to give it to M. Dubois and inform him that I would speak to him to-morrow morning.

*Wednesday, May 7.*<sup>3</sup>—I went to M. Dubois' house this morning and read to him the list prepared yesterday. He then sent for the several people and questioned them.

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<sup>1</sup> 27th Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> 28th Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>3</sup> 29th Chittirai, Vikrama.

I observed that the amounts set against each name might be a hundred more or a hundred less, but that there would not be much difference. 'Very well,' he replied and told me to include the names of Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai and writer Rangappa Mudali, and show amounts for each. I replied, 'I do not know their ability. Kandappa Mudali and others have held appointments only for the last three years, while Periyanna Mudali has already paid a lakh of rupees, Savarirâya Pillai 30,000 rupees and Kandappa Mudali 50,000, besides 30,000 paid towards the expenses of the Company's carriage-bullocks for which he has receipts from M. Lally and M. Leyrit. They say that they are already in debt and I do not know what they have left. Nor do I know what Rangappa Mudali's son has. You *dorais* may therefore fix the amounts,'—'Very well, you may go home,' he said. So I came home. M. Dubois went and showed the list to M. Leyrit. The latter sent for me and when I went to the Fort, M. Leyrit, M. Dubois, M. Guillard and M. Courtin were present. They asked if I was not ashamed to leave my younger brother's son in prison. I replied, 'Why should I be ashamed? I have earned all glory in the town, though now I am dishonoured.'—'Don't speak like that,'

they replied ; ‘ for we shall oblige you to pay and not excuse you however unjust it be. So you had better pay voluntarily.’—‘ How can I, when I have nothing ?’ I replied. But as they continued obdurately to threaten me with what they would do, I agreed to pay 10,000 rupees in a month’s time, while Guntûr Narasimha Chetti agreed in writing to pay 4,000 rupees. When I took leave of them to go home, they said, ‘ You may take your food now, but come back this afternoon. You must be present throughout until the affair is settled.’—‘ I cannot,’ I replied, ‘ for I have to arrange for this money.’—‘ If you fail,’ they continued, ‘ you will be confined to the Fort till the amount is paid.’—‘ Very well,’ I said and taking leave, came home with Appâvu and Narasimha Chetti. Bâpu Râo of the mint was asked to pay 50,000 rupees. He replied, ‘ Only yesterday, I paid 14,000 rupees and Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown 6,000 rupees—20,000 rupees in all—so what have we got now ?’ They replied, ‘ The 14,000 rupees was on account of Râmachandra Râo’s employment at the Beach and the 4,000 rupees on account of Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown. But this sum of 50,000 rupees is on account of your employment at the mint and of Srînivâsa Râo’s employment at Kârikâl.’ So saying they put Bâpu Râo in the dungeon. Pâpayya Pillai’s son was

then sent for and questioned. He replied, 'My goods and all I possess have already been seized, so I have nothing left except two elephants and five or six houses.' Thereon they asked me. I replied, 'He really cannot pay, for he has only two elephants and five or six houses.' Nevertheless they ordered him to be shut up in the dungeon again, saying, 'Though such is the case, since the seigneurs have put down such a large figure as 50,000 rupees, we will speak to M. Lally and procure his release to-morrow.' Only five or six persons' cases were settled this afternoon, as shown by the Tamil list I have written. The *dorais* sent for Bâpu Râo of the mint and said, 'You are worth two lakhs of pagodas, of which you sent a lakh and a half to the southward by boat; and though it was stopped by the English at Devikôttai, it was brought back here in safety. You can therefore pay 50,000 rupees.' So saying he was ordered to be put in the dungeon.

*Thursday, May 8.*<sup>1</sup>—After I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, the cases of Sûrappa Mudali, Varlâm Mudali, Alagiya-manavâla Chetti and others were settled, but they saying that they had paid so much then and so much now, only agreed to pay with

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<sup>1</sup> 30th Chittirai, Vikrama.



tears in their eyes and beating their mouths with their hands, unwilling to bear the troubles of the dungeon. The names of the several persons may be learnt from my list.

*Friday, May 9.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, the cases of Kanakasabhai Mudali, Tillai Maistri, Dêvarâya Chetti and Arama Chetti were settled. Kanakasabhai Mudali said, 'I am worth nothing for I hold no appointment but am managing certain temples.' He was told that, in that case, he might pay this 1,000 rupees by collecting it from his people not mentioned in the list, but not a cash more. The same orders were given about the sums of 1,500 rupees to be paid by Tillai Maistri and Dêvarâya Chetti. As for the 1,000 rupees allotted to the share of Arama Chetti, he was ordered to find 500 rupees himself and to collect the remaining 500 rupees from his people. Thus the amounts fixed for several people were settled, and the names with details may be learnt from my list. Some whose names have been written are dead and their women and children departed five or six months ago; and several others left the town two or three months ago for fear of the troubles and of their names being noted. I said therefore what they<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 31st Chittirai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the Council.

must know, that three-fourths of the people had left the town, while I alone remained with my family and children, and that, as they knew this, they had announced by beat of tom-tom that all who had left might return. Even to-day they ordered the tom-tom to beat announcing permission to return for all those who had gone out.

*Saturday, May 10.*<sup>1</sup>—Tânappa Mudali (Kanakarâya Mudali's younger brother) having been summoned daily for the last two or three days, excused himself on the ground that his legs and hands were swollen with rheumatism. To-day therefore peons were sent to bring him to the Fort in a palankin, and on his arrival, he was required to pay 20,000 rupees. He replied that he could only give 10,000. He was then told of M. Lally's orders that, unless he paid 20,000 rupees, he was to be shut up in the dungeon. I said, 'His family has been great and respectable for three generations, for his grandfather, father, and elder brother have been the Company's *courtiers*, so he should not be treated disrespectfully, to say nothing of his state of health. Moreover, although with Europeans it is no rare thing for a man, however high in office, to be imprisoned, you should not ignore

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<sup>1</sup> 1st Vaigdsi, Vikrama.

our Tamil feelings, for we regard it as a disgrace. Besides he does not refuse to pay anything at all, but offers 10,000 rupees, so that he is not guilty of any serious misdeed and should not be put in the dungeon.' After some deliberation, M. Leyrit, M. Courtin, M. Dubois, and M. Guillard put him in custody in the corridor on the ground-floor of the *Gouvernement* behind screens close to M. Meyer's room. They also settled the cases of various persons of whom I have a list. M. Leyrit, who had meant to visit M. Lally this afternoon, said that he would go to-morrow.

*Sunday, May 11.*<sup>1</sup>—This morning M. Lally heard mass at the Fort church, while M. Leyrit heard mass at St. Paul's church. When I asked M. Leyrit why the Karuvappûndi catechist had been sent for by the *Padrés*, he replied that his name had been included in M. Lally's list; so when I was asked<sup>2</sup> why he had been sent for, I replied that it was by the *dorai's* orders and not by mine. I was told that it might be fair to make those who had stolen lakhs upon lakhs of the Company's money give something; but how could a man who lived upon alms give anything?

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<sup>1</sup> 2nd *Vaigâsi, Vikrama.*

<sup>2</sup> Apparently by the catechist or some one on his behalf in the presence of the Committee.

I replied that, if the *dorais* had only used fair means of collecting money, the town would not be in the condition it is. He replied, 'A certain man will come shortly to enquire into all these affairs, and then you will learn everything.' On this M. Leyrit and M. Courtin interposed, asking why I was talking so much in this case and adding that the Karuvappûndi catechist's case need not be taken now but later on. Five or six persons were then sent for and questioned, but, as they did not agree to the demand, they were put back in the dungeon.

I hear that, when M. Lally's soldiers and sepoys attacked Cuddalore to-day, many of the Chettis and Kômuttis who had taken refuge there with their women and children perished by drowning in the river, that four or five officers, a head-surgeon, 20 or 30 sepoys and 30 or 40 Europeans who were lying wounded in the hospital, were carried off and the town plundered but that the booty was not shared by the great people, but by the soldiers and sepoys.

*Monday, May 12.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning and questioned five or six people whose cases are under consideration, only two agreed to give a bond, and the rest were returned to the dungeon.

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<sup>1</sup> 3rd Vaigdsi, Vikrama.

M. Dubois then told the Nayinâr in the presence of M. Leyrit that he was responsible for the oil-monger Nayinâthai who, he said, had formerly fled but had now returned. The Nayinâr replied, 'It is true that formerly he was under my control, but I know nothing about him now.' The other replied, 'You told me at my house in the presence of Râmalinga Pillai and Ayyan Sâstri that the oil-monger Nayinâthai had returned, so you are answerable.' M. Leyrit and M. Courtin said, 'You are the poligar of the town, so you are responsible for the oil-monger Nayinâthai and all others who have left it.' When they thus declared the Nayinâr responsible, he asked whether all those who had fled were in his custody and added that he could not be held responsible for their actions.

*Tuesday, May 13<sup>1</sup>.*—As a council was held this morning, nobody had been summoned till noon. When I took leave I said that I could not come for two days as I had to go about the European streets for my share of the money. I then came home and did not go out this evening. The cases of Chûnâmpattu Subban and a few others were settled this evening, and details may be learnt from the list.

*Wednesday, May 14.*<sup>1</sup>—I did not go to the Fort to-day, but I heard that the Nayinâr had decided the cases of Chinnatambi Pillai the Choultry monigar, Savarimuttu Mudali, Alagappa Mudali and Wandiwash Venkatâchala Pillai and some others and that a few more had been put in the dungeon. A list of them has been made.

Five or six of those who marched to attack Cuddalore have returned wounded.

*Thursday, May 15.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, but as the council was sitting, nobody was questioned nor was anything important done. The council rose at half-past twelve and I returned home. I do not know why it met. I went in the evening, but as only M. Dubois came at six or half-past six, I was told to return to-morrow, so I came home.

*Friday, May 16.*<sup>3</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. As M. Courtin was at the Choultry-court, M. Dubois and M. Guillard were waiting for the list he had. M. Leyrit sent a note for it and M. Courtin then sent it. Three or four persons whose cases were settled after eleven o'clock gave bonds. I returned home at one.

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<sup>1</sup> 5th Vaigâsi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> 6th Vaigâsi, Vikrama.

<sup>3</sup> 7th Vaigâsi, Vikrama.

I went to the Fort again this evening. Before seven o'clock the cases of four or five persons were settled and they gave bonds. There is a list which may be seen.

M. Dubois brought a list of 13 persons; but it contained five or six names on the list already written. M. La Grenée and M. Du Passage<sup>1</sup> the engineer, settled that Nainiya Pillai employed on the walls surrounding the Fort and his younger brother Sôlaiya Pillai need not pay any tax. The remaining two or three persons when summoned and questioned, replying that they had not even *conjee* to drink, were also excused from payment. Thus thirteen persons were exempted from the tax.

[*Saturday*], *May 17.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort to-day. The cases of Chinna Mudali and four or five others were settled by the afternoon and they returned home after giving bonds.

Subbayyan of the Fort, Vonkataravana Ayyan, Bâpu Râo of the mint, Mannappa Mudali, Kulandai (M. Delarcho's dubâsh), Kapâlan Kalatti Chetti and Pâpayya Pillai's

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<sup>1</sup> In 1755 he was aggrieved at having been passed over by the Company when it appointed Sornay Chief Engineer at Pondichery (*P.R. No. 15, p. 509*). Sornay was buried at Pondichery, 24th February 1758, and I suppose Du Passage then succeeded him. He was Chief Engineer when Pondichery surrendered in 1761 (Coote's journal. *ap. Orme MSS. India*, viii, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> 8th Vaigâsi, Vikramâ.

son—seven persons in all—whose cases had not been settled by seven o'clock this evening, and who were still in the dungeon, were sent for and questioned; but as they still refused, they were ordered back to the dungeon. To the question whether any other cases were still to be settled, answer was made that there remained only those who had gone out and returned. It was ordered that the matter should be put off for two or three days, until Wednesday, as by then, others who had gone out might have returned.

*Sunday, May 18.*<sup>1</sup>—All the councillors assembled to-day for a council. M. Moracin also had returned from Negapatam with letters. Perhaps the council was held to consider them and other matters, as M. Lally is expected to spend ten days at M. Barthólemy's garden at Olukarai. When I went and paid my respects, I was asked<sup>2</sup> what cases remained to be decided. When I reminded him of what I had said yesterday, I was told that, in that case, I should be needed in two or three days' time, as by then, those who had gone out would have returned.

The council sat from eleven o'clock to half-past twelve, when an English ship sailed by, firing two guns. I then returned home.

<sup>1</sup> 9th Vaigasi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps by Leyrit.



As English horse were seen near Ariyân-kuppam fort this morning, fire was opened from the walls, and an English trooper and his horse were killed. The master-gunner who fired having been scorched by the powder, was brought in here.

M. Lally set out this evening with 50 or 60 horses and halted in the Padré's church built by Kanakarâya Mudali at Olukarai, intending to stay there for about a week.

M. Mariaur<sup>1</sup>, the commandant at Gingee who advanced and attacked the English army, was wounded in the chest ; and on receipt of news of his death, an order was sent appointing another as commander.

The council met to-day to reply to the letter written to M. Loyrit by M. Lally before he left, complaining that he had not been supplied with fowls, geese and sheep, in order that he might fall in the hands of the English, while the Governor and the councillors who robbed the Company many a time of its money lived at ease in their houses eating fat fowls, geese, sheep, etc. The reply said (a European gentleman tells me) that everything had been under his control till now, that nothing had been refused to him, that he would be supplied with whatever he might

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<sup>1</sup> I do not know the name, and should have supposed it an error for Mariol had not the latter still been alive in 1761.

require and that the money collected from the Tamils would be sent to him if he needed it<sup>1</sup>.

*Monday, May 19.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning, and after attending the auction of the Marquis de Conflans' goods<sup>3</sup> at the sorting-godown, went upstairs, but as M. Leyrit's doors were closed, I returned home at eleven o'clock.

To-day also the English horse appeared near Ariyânkuppam fort, the guns of which killed two horses.

M. Lally advanced upon Cuddalore with the soldiers in the town, and the soldiers and sepoy outside.

When I drove out to the garden this evening, M. La Gronée was there. We talked a little while about M. Lally's actions and other matters. He returned in his carriage and I in my palankin.

Three Europeans who came in an English ship to-day reached the shore in a small boat, and, having delivered their letters, offered an exchange of our people for their sailors in our

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<sup>1</sup> The letters in question seem to be those printed *ap.* Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 443. Lally complained that the table, ordered for him by the minister, had not been properly supplied.

<sup>2</sup> *10th Vaigási, Vikrama.*

<sup>3</sup> Conflans had been captured by the English at Masulipatam, was released on parole, and buried at Pondichery (*État Civil depuis*, 1736, p. 348) on 25th November 1759.

hands. On being told that only one or two would be released, they got into their boat and departed.

*Tuesday, May 20.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning. M. Leyrit who came out at ten talked with M. Guillard and others there and I paid my respects. M. Leyrit said, 'Those who have gone out will take two or three days to return. Why should I send for those who are in the dungeon to-morrow and question them?'

The Marquis de Conflans' goods were sold at outcry to day also at the sorting-godown. Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son) was present there.

The five or six English ships lying off the Fort fired thirty or forty guns. The reason was as follows:—The [English] who lay in ambush expecting our people to advance, opened fire upon them when they approached Cuddalore last night and made them retreat. Some of the [English] who were sent ashore in boats<sup>2</sup> joined those who were already ashore and fell upon our men, killing some, including the commandant of the European *Régiment de Lorraine*. Our people therefore retreated.

When I drove out this afternoon as far as the Ariyânkuppam river, I met a few

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<sup>1</sup> 11th Vaigâsi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> These were marines, landed to assist Coote in his operations.

Europeans returning from Cuddalore, one by one, and they reported the same news. I returned home at half-past six or seven.

*Wednesday, May 21.*<sup>1</sup>—I paid to M. Duplant this morning 2,000 rupees for my share of 10,000 and then went to the Fort and stayed at the sorting-godown where the Marquis de Conflans' goods were being sold at outcry. M. Courtin, M. Dubois and M. Duplant were with M. Leyrit upstairs at the *Gouvernement* at nine o'clock. They sent for me and asked if the seven persons in the dungeon were ready to settle their cases to which I replied that they only remained there because they had nothing to pay with. Afterwards Subbayan and Ravanayyan of the Fort were summoned and told to pay 500 and 200 rupees respectively. The former, declaring he could not, was ordered to be shut up in the dungeon again, while Venkataravanayyan gave a bond agreeing to pay 200 rupees in two months' time and departed. M. Courtin and M. Duplant said that the rest might be sent for and their cases settled, but M. Leyrit replied that they could not be settled easily, seeing that M. Lally's list showed such large sums as 3,000 rupees for Kapâlan Kâlatti, 2,000 for Tânappan of the armoury and 2,000 for Kuma-rappa Mudali a Vellâla. M. Courtin and

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<sup>1</sup> 12th Vaigîai, Vikrama.

M. Duplant replied that, if any attention was paid to M. Lally's list, not a fanam would be collected, but that if easy sums were set for each, money would come in. M. Leyrit answered, 'M. Lally has gone out in anger and remained there for the last three days, so he should be informed before anything is done, seeing that large sums are involved in the matter ; otherwise he will get angry.' Afterwards M. Dubois said that M. Lally had ordered Lakshmana Râo (younger brother of Bâpu Râo of the mint) to be shut up in the dungeon, lest he should attend to the mint. M. Leyrit replied, 'Bâpu Râo the elder brother is already in the dungeon. Why therefore shut up the younger brother also ?'—'No,' the other answered, 'the younger also should be shut up.' After sending us out, M. Leyrit and M. Dubois roared at each other for about an hour. I was then sent for and told to bring Lakshmana Râo who was brought accordingly from the Fort. M. Dubois ordered him to be shut up in the dungeon. M. Leyrit observed, 'His elder brother is already in the dungeon, so this man should be kept under guard either in the sorting or the liquor-godown. If he pays to-morrow, well and good ; if not, he will be put in the dungeon.' So saying he was delivered to the Nayinâr who entrusted him to

a peon to be kept under guard. His men went and complained to M. Boyelleau who thereupon went to M. Leyrit and M. Dubois and said, 'Bâpu Râo is already in the dungeon ; so why should his younger brother also be kept there ? Is it just to imprison all the members of a house ? If you are going to beat men, drive them out, and plunder their property, you may as well take ship [for Europe] at once. Why this injustice ?' He then turned to M. Leyrit and said, 'As Governor, you ought to enquire duly into these matters ; but you say nothing. By your injustice the town will be ruined. I shall certainly take ship ; you must do as you please. There is nobody to look after the mint ; the elder brother is already in the dungeon, and to-day the younger also has been imprisoned ; are we therefore to stop the receipt of even the small sums that are brought to the mint ?' When M. Boyelleau thus raised an uproar, M. Leyrit and M. Dubois ordered Lakshmana Râo's release which was performed accordingly.

M. Dubois then gave a list containing the names of barber Venkatâchalam, Mutta Pillai (Vellâla Gaudiya Pillai's son), Vadamalai Pillai, packer Kutti Pillai, Tândavarâya Pillai the *nâttâr*, Kômutti Sakku Chetti—six persons

in all—mentioning 2,000 for some and 1,500 for others and ordered them to be brought.

Sepoys reported to me that, when the English horse approached the Bound-hedge this evening, 100 of our sepoy's there opened fire, whereon the English horse fled to Valudâvûr by way of Appu Mudali's Choultry.

*Thursday, May 22.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Leyrit, M. Courtin and M. Dubois were at the Fort when I went there this morning. Afterwards Sakki Chetti, packer Kutti Pillai, and barber Venkatâchalam were brought. M. Dubois asked if Sakki Chetti could pay 20,000 rupees. I replied, 'He could give 20,000 rupees if he had property worth 40,000 or 30,000 ; but he is only a servant getting ten rupees a month at the mint under the Guntûr people ; his master has agreed to pay only 4,000 rupees, so what can this man pay ? Packer Kutti Pillai keeps the scavenging accounts, and barber Venkatâchalam attends to his profession.' Thereon M. Dubois said, 'Against Sakku Chetti who gets but ten rupees, 2,500 rupees has been mentioned ; against barber Venkatâchalam 1,000, rupees, and against packer Kutti Pillai 1,500, rupees.' I replied, 'If the person who wrote the amounts for these persons can prove their ability to pay, they shall be charged and

the money shall be collected from them ; if otherwise, the writer must be held responsible.' — ' Well,' M. Dubois replied, ' I shall send for him to-morrow.' When the three men were then ordered to be kept under custody, I said that they would not run away and that therefore they might be at liberty. Thereon they were ordered to be kept in custody in the Nayinâr's house, which was done accordingly. I then continued, ' Oil-monger Nayinâthai says that he will return from outside if his affair be settled.' M. Dubois replied, ' He is worth much ; so he can pay much. M. Lally's list mentions 3,000 rupees against him and mine 10,000 ; but tell him to give 2,000.' I answered, ' I shall send for him and ask ; if he agrees, well and good ; otherwise I must send him out again.' They agreed. Tiruchelvarâya Mudali's younger brother was mediator in this man's case, so I told him to bring Nayinâthai Mudali. Tillai Maistri, Mutta Pillai, his son, and Sônâchalam, by means of M. Dubois, M. Courtin and M. Duplant told M. Leyrit to have their dues collected from the ryots, and if they refused, to shut them up in the dungeon or beat them and collect the money. M. Leyrit called and questioned me. I replied, ' In Vinâyaka Pillai's time, he, with the aid of M. Barthélemy, posed as the *nâttâr* for the Agamudaiyans, seizing the ryots, beating them,



levying fines from them, and doing other acts of injustice. Others now want to do the like. To collect the tax, sepoys have been detailed to drag people in, making them carry muskets on their shoulders and sealing up their houses. Owing to such injustice, many who have left the town are afraid to return, and the few that remain wish to go out. I say this lest I should be asked hereafter why I did not report these things before.' M. Leyrit answered, 'Send for the ryots and ask them ; if they are willing to pay, well and good ; otherwise, they need not be compelled. Should any force be used, you had better seize and imprison Tillai Maistri's son Muttu.' Then I came aside. Sônâchalam, Tillai Maistri and Muttu requested M. Duplant to speak to M. Leyrit. When he did so, M. Leyrit said, 'Let the list of the tax be given to the Choultry-writers, who will send for the ryots and demand payment of the tax, receiving it if they pay, but they are not to molest them if they refuse.' M. Duplant informed me that M. Leyrit had ordered the list of the tax to be collected from the Agamudaiyans to be given to the Choultry-writers telling them that they should collect the amount by agreement. I sent for the Choultry-writers accordingly, told them to receive the list of the tax due from the Agamudaiyans, demanding payment gently,

receiving the money if they paid it willingly, but not troubling or forcing them to pay if they said they could not.

*Friday, May 23.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning but to-day being the Choultry-court day, M. Courtin had gone to attend to the work there. So there was nothing important.

I visited M. Leyrit and waited upstairs. The Marquis de Conflans' goods were being sold by auction. I returned home at eleven o'clock.

I hear that M. Lally received a letter yesterday saying that Haidar Nâyakkan had reached Anandagiri with 3,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 11 guns, accompanied by Bariki Venkata Râo, and that M. Lally after reading it, sent it to M. Leyrit to-day.

*Saturday, May 24.*<sup>2</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, the Marquis de Conflans' goods were still being sold. This sale has been going on for the last five or six days; the Tamils have bought nothing, but Chandâ Sâhib's son and 'Alî Naqî have bought some things with the parchment notes, and the Europeans bought some, but the Tamils nothing. As I was watching the sale at a distance, a peon came at half-past ten and said that M. Courtin, M. Duplant and M. Dubois

<sup>1</sup> 14th Vaigdsi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> 15th Vaigdsi, Vikrama.

had met and wanted me. When I went, they asked if any one in the dungeon was ready to settle his affairs. I replied, 'Subbayyan of the Fort has delivered a petition to M. Duplant to be given to M. Leyrit. It says, "I am unable to pay because I have to repay a debt of about 50,000 rupees in the town ; besides this I have given a *greffier's* bond on my house ; these debts are known to the Governor, the councillors and the Tamils. I have had no food for the last 15 days, and these two or three days have been suffering much from rheumatism, and I am fainting and shall die in two or three days."' M. Leyrit read this complaint and asked me about Subbayyan's affair. I told him that I had already reported to him about it. He then asked what else he said. I answered that he was willing to pay 300 rupees, whereon he told me to settle his affair for this amount. Subbayyan was sent for and released on giving a bond for the 300 rupees.

They then told me to send for the rest so that their affairs also might be settled. Tânappan of the armoury, Kulandai (M. Delarche's dubâsh), Kapâlan Kâlatti Chetti and Mannappa Mudali, who were in the dungeon were sent for and questioned. M. Lally's list sets 3,000 rupees against Mannappa Mudali ; another list 2,000 and M. Dubois' 4,000. When asked to give a bond for the small

sum of 1,000 rupees, he [Mannappa Mudali] refused. He has been suffering from itch all over the body, besides boils the size of *sangam* fruit.<sup>1</sup> In consideration of this, M. Leyrit directed him to be dealt with easily. But he still did not consent, so he was ordered back to the dungeon. On seeing Kapâlan Kâlatti, who looked pale and weak, M. Leyrit said that he too might be let off lightly. But, as he offered only 300 rupees instead of 1,000, he also was sent back to the dungeon. Kulandai, when asked, also pleading inability, he too was ordered to be shut up in the dungeon again. Lastly Tânappan of the armoury was questioned. He replied, 'I am a labourer working for two fanams a day. What am I worth? I have nothing.' M. Leyrit then asked me why I had written his name in the face of this statement. I replied, 'M. La Selle collected 200 star pagodas from him as he was a *nâttâr*. So I also have included his name.' Consequently he also was ordered to be taken back to the dungeon.

Then the Nayinâr said, 'It seems a favourable opportunity for you to ask for the release of Pâpayya Pillai's son.' I objected that the day was under the influence of Saturn. But as he still urged me, I assented

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<sup>1</sup> About the size of a large pea.

and said to them, 'You said you would release Pâpayya Pillai's son. He has had no food and is suffering from the itch all over his body.' M. Leyrit asked the others what they thought. M. Dubois said he had heard that Pâpayya Pillai's son was worth 50,000 rupees and that therefore he should not be released. M. Courtin, pointing to M. Duplant, said, 'When this seigneur was with me, a gentleman came and said that Pâpayya Pillai had 1,20,000 pagodas in ready money. Ranga Pillai has been bribed to speak on his behalf and say he is worth nothing.' I replied, 'If Pâpayya Pillai had been worth a lakh of pagodas, I should have been given ten or twelve thousand to speak in his favour. If the man who says that Pâpayya Pillai is worth so much can prove it, give him the pagodas, and hang the culprit and his family ; if he can't, he deserves to be hanged.' They said, 'You said twenty days ago that Pâpayya Pillai was at the point of death, so that we should be getting news of his death.' I replied, 'You may enquire if you please. All know that with us a purification ceremony is performed at the point of death. According to custom that ceremony was performed for him at Tiruvennanallûr, and his children and wife went thither. He escaped death then and was brought here. The ceremony has twice been performed here

since, as is known to all.' M. Courtin proposed that he and M. Duplant might go and see him. But M. Dubois said it would be better for him to be brought. M. Leyrit objected that they might be blamed if he died after being moved. 'That does not matter,' M. Dubois said ; 'he can be fetched and sent back after we have seen him.' He was therefore ordered to be brought in the afternoon.

I then said, 'What about the three persons imprisoned yesterday?' M. Dubois replied, 'Packer Kutti Pillai's name has been written by mistake for that of Kutti Pillai, a herdsman who has 1,000 pack-bullocks and who supplies the Company's troops with loads of chaff. If necessary, he can supply 2,000 or 3,000 pack-bullocks. He has earned much money, and should be sent for.' The Nayinâr said, 'Kuttayyan is the elder brother of Kuppan, the poultry-keeper.' I observed, 'It is true that formerly he had 100 bullocks, and was employed to supply the Company direct with bullocks because the *Arumpâtai* would never pay the hire. The herdsmen chose this man as their chief so that they might get something, and each got a fanam or a half-fanam for each bullock supplied. He probably has not 100 bullocks now, but only 50 or 60.'—'Never mind, send for him,' he said. I agreed, and asked if packer Kutti could be

released. He agreed, at which I smiled, as also did M. Leyrit and the rest, except M. Dubois himself, who looked dejected. When I asked about barber Venkatâchalam, M. Dubois said nothing, but went away.

M. Duplant then said, 'At the sale of the Marquis de Conflans' goods that has been going on for the last five or six days, no Tamils have bought anything, but only Europeans and Chandâ Sâhib's son.' M. Courtin observed the reason was that the Tamils had gone down much of late.

M. Leyrit then asked if any who had been assessed had come in from the country. I replied, 'They were about to return, but, on hearing that money was being hastily collected here, they have remained where they were. They will not return until there is a lull in the collection.' I returned home at noon.

At four o'clock this evening, I went to the Fort. Two soldiers were ordered to fetch Pâpayya Pillai. They brought him to the Fort in a palankin, owing to his grievous state of sickness, to the *Arumpâtai's* accounts-office where he remained lying in the palankin. On learning this, M. Leyrit, M. Duplant, M. Courtin and I went to see him. M. Courtin said to him, 'It has been proved to me that you have 1,20,000 pagodas buried in your house, so why suffer rather than pay?'

Pâpayya Pillai replied, 'If I had the money, should I bear to see my son perishing in the dungeon for a month without food? Surely not. If he who has given this information can prove it, let me and my family be hanged; but, if he cannot, let him be hanged.' M. Courtin continued, 'No, you have money, and are lying, and we shall have to put more pressure on you yet. You have no disease. I shall tell the head-surgeon to examine you.' Then we three went to M. Leyrit. M. Courtin said to M. Leyrit, 'He will not agree to pay and says he is sick. The head-surgeon should be sent to examine him.' So saying, he sent the surgeon<sup>1</sup> who visited Pâpayya Pillai at nine at night, and, having examined him, said that he had no disease. Pâpayya Pillai answered, 'How can you say that when I have been suffering from fever for the last seven months and confined to bed, unable to get up? How can you say that I am well? Can't you see how sick I am merely by looking at me?' The head-surgeon then visited M. Leyrit and falsely told him that the other was only pretending sickness. Then he took leave.

At half-past six this evening M. Leyrit returned from outside<sup>1</sup> to the house in which

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<sup>1</sup> He had a garden in the town, but outside the Fort. Leyrit's *Mémoire*, pp. 514-515.



he is living, but went out again at nine o'clock at night.

M. Courtin, M. Duplant and M. Leyrit sent for the Nayinâr, and calling him such names as dog and devil, said, 'You must collect and pay in the money from those who have agreed to pay without allowing them a minute longer, or else you shall be tied up and beaten, your ears shall be cut off and you yourself shall be hanged.' The Nayinâr agreed and departed.

M. Lally had ordered Bâpu Râo of the mint to be put in the dungeon if he failed to pay the full sum of 50,000 rupees, forbidding anything less to be accepted without his leave. Bâpu Râo got M. Meyer to speak to M. Lally and brought a letter to M. Leyrit ordering Bâpu Râo to be released if he paid 10,000 by nine to-morrow morning, but, if he failed, he and his younger brother Râmachandra Râo were to be hanged. M. Courtin who received this letter gave it to M. Leyrit who on reading it, said, 'M. Lally has ordered 10,000 rupees to be collected from you, but, if you fail, you and your elder brother will be hanged.' Râmachandra Râo said plainly and boldly, 'I have told Ranga Pillai that I can only pay 6,000 rupees. You must do what you please.' M. Leyrit told Râmachandra Râo to consult his elder brother and come back again.

Râmachandra Râo consulted Bâpu Râo accordingly and then went to M. Courtin, thinking that it was useless to go to M. Leyrit. I hear that Râmachandra Râo spoke so boldly because he has managed by M. Meyer's means to talk to M. Lally, and, having settled his affair for 20,000 rupees, come here with a letter offering to pay 10,000 or 6,000 as the case may be, so that he may pay the balance to M. Lally.

I hear that M. Duplant and M. Moracin went to M. Leyrit at nine o'clock to-night and returned after some conversation, and that M. Courtin did the same at eleven.

When I asked M. Leyrit about oil-monger Nayinâthai Mudali's case, he said, 'M. Lally's list assesses him at 3,000 rupees but you say that he cannot pay so much. You had better tell him to pay 1,500 rupees, take a note from him for this amount and let him to live in the town.' I sent for him. When he came to discuss the matter this morning, I said, 'M. Lally's list rates you at 3,000 rupees. I pleaded for you with M. Leyrit, urging that you could not pay so much, until he consented to 1,500; M. Dubois then intervened and insisted that you should pay 3,000 because you were rich. I answered that you had never served the Company but only traded in oil like other oil-mongers, and cultivated land like an ordinary ryot. M. Leyrit then said

that, if you would agree to pay 1,500, I might take a note from you and allow you to return to the town ; but that you would otherwise be asked to go out. In view of this, you had better agree to pay the sum.' Nayinâthai Mudali said, 'I can't pay more than 1,200.' I replied, 'Since you agree to pay 1,200, you should not mind the little extra 300. You had much better agree.' But as, in spite of my advice, he stuck to his 1,200 rupees, I continued, 'There are the Padré Superior and several others. Consult them and then come back.' He answered, 'If I went to the Padré, the amount would be doubled; I depend entirely upon you. I will pay 1,200 ; but if this sum is not accepted, I would rather depart than remain here.' Then he departed.

*Sunday, May 25.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, M. Guillard and a few Europeans who were upstairs, having returned from the church. They returned my compliments. M. Boyelleau then arrived, and I paid him my respects and talked with him. As the clock struck eleven, M. Leyrit went in, and the rest took their leave and went home. I also departed at eleven and came home.

When I drove out, I heard that, as 200 or 300 of the English horse had appeared before the Perumbai hill at four o'clock this evening, our people opened fire with guns and small-arms, on which the enemy's horse returned to their camp.

I also hear that the English troops up to now have not feared any attack, but for the last two or three days they have been expecting the French to attack them at any time day or night; moreover, although the English till ten days ago neither plundered nor looted, they have now been plundering the villages, troubling the people, burning houses and doing other acts of violence.

At half-past twelve to-night, M. Pouly the second<sup>1</sup> with 20 or 30 of M. Lally's dragoons and a few peons, seized Sâmâ Rão (formerly Sâñôji Nimbâlakar's vakîl but now M. Bussy's) who lives in the Brâhman street; they also seized 150 pagodas which they found in his house, besides his bonds and records, and brought him before M. Lally, who ordered him to be imprisoned in a dungeon at the Villiyanallûr fort. He was imprisoned accordingly but his pagodas were given back to him. The reason for his arrest and imprisonment is this. Ten days ago M. Lally was saying (so

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<sup>1</sup> Previously mentioned as the provost-marshal.

Europeans relate) that he had heard letters had been written to the English offering them help to capture Pondichery and that the writers of these letters would be arrested. Everyone was therefore wondering what would happen. What gave colour to this rumour was that M. Bussy had been visiting the English.<sup>1</sup> Nâgôji Nâyakkan, his dîwân, is staying at Vellore ; and, as Sâmâ Rão is M. Bussy's vakîl, secret letters must have passed. On learning this, M. Lally put Sâmâ Rão in prison, returning his pagodas but keeping his papers, and, should anything be revealed by them, it will go hard both with M. Bussy and Sâmâ Rão; otherwise the matter may end quietly.

*Monday, May 26.*<sup>2</sup>—I had four or five motions this morning, so I did not go out.

I hear that the council, which met at nine o'clock, did not rise till half-past twelve. I shall learn why it met and then write.

A list has been made of the houses and goods of those who have gone away, in order that they may be sold. M. [Le] Faucheur (M. Boyelleau's wife's son),<sup>3</sup> M. Courtin's secretary

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<sup>1</sup> On March 11, he had surrendered to his parole, but on April 7 he had been allowed with others to return to Pondichery, where he remained for some time (*Military Consultations*, 13 March and 7 April 1760).

<sup>2</sup> 17th Vaigdsi, Vikrama.

<sup>3</sup> André Boyelleau married in 1741, Jeanne Julienne Michel Artur, veuve Le Faucheur,

and writer, and the Choultry-writers made a list of the houses of Mariadâs and Daiva-sahâyam (broker Vêlappa Mudali's son) and the goods therein and departed after having sealed the houses. Sîyâla Pillai the Choultry-writer informed me that the houses of other Christians and Tamils had been listed in the afternoon to be sold, and then took his leave. Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti's, Munjanûr Mârgasahâya Chetti's, Samaragu Mannâru Chetti's, Chinna Unnâmalai Chetti's and Periya Unnâmalai Chetti's houses—five houses in all—and the goods found therein were written this afternoon by M. [Le] Faucheur, M. Courtin's writer and the Choultry-writers. After they had locked the goods up in a certain house and sealed it, they left saying that, unless those who had gone out paid the tax according to their assessment, their goods would be sold. Since yesterday, not more than 400, 300 or 100 *vallams*<sup>1</sup> of paddy have been found in each household. As much as seven garse was found in Chandâ Sâhib's house alone. The Choultry-writers had already given in a list for 23½ garso of paddy, and, including this quantity, there were only 50 or 60 garse. Besides a list had already been made of those who had only five or ten *vallams*. Of the paddy found in the several houses, half

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<sup>1</sup> A corn measure of four markals.

has been given to the paddy-people<sup>1</sup> and the remaining half has been carried away by the Choultry-writers for the Company.

I hear that the 50 soldiers, 2 officers and 50 sepoy, posted at the Karukudikuppam Bound-hedge, deserted to the English yesterday with their guns.

I heard the following news to-day:—Last night a window of [       ] European house near the petty bazaar in Mîrâpalli was removed, a box inside was broken open, and about 2,000 pagodas or rupees stolen. The owner complained to M. Lally, who sent word to M. Courtin to enquire. The latter sent for the Nayinâr and asked why he had not reported this theft at a European's house last night. The Nayinâr pleading utter ignorance of the matter, M. Courtin gave him five or six stripes with a stout cane he had in his hand, demanding how he dared to reply thus when questioned. The man who had lost the money, in grief at his loss, pursued the Nayinâr, with a drawn sword, but the latter escaped to M. Duplant and narrated the matter with tears. A Topass servant of the European who had lost the money was accused of the theft and taken to M. Panon's. The latter had him tied up, gave him 60 stripes and questioned him,

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, for sale to the public, I suppose.

but he pleaded innocence, so he was ordered to be shut up at the Choultry in irons.

*Tuesday, May 27.*<sup>1</sup>—When M. Leyrit, the Governor, was returning to the Fort after hearing mass at the church this morning, Arami Chetti and ten or fifteen Chetti *nâttârs* presented a petition to him regarding the case of Âdimûlam Ândâ Chetti which was disposed of after perusal of a petition presented to M. Courtin, declaring that the matter had been already decided for 250 pagodas and that there was no grievance. M. Leyrit read the complaint and sent away the complainants telling them that the matter would be settled. I hear that the petition was given to M. Courtin and that there has been a disagreement between M. Leyrit and M. Courtin. I do not know what will happen.

When the diamond worth 8,000 rupees and purchased by the Marquis de Conflans at Chicacole and Râjahmundry to the northward was put up to-day, M. Meyer bought it for 7,500 rupees in bills.<sup>2</sup> Learning this, M. Lally sent for him and said, 'You must give me that diamond for the price you bought it at, so that I may send it to the Marquis de Conflans' elder brother in Europe.' M. Meyer replied,

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<sup>1</sup> 18th Vaigdsai, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the parchment money is meant.



'I bought it because I liked it, so I cannot give it you.'—'In that case,' M. Lally replied, 'you will be put in arrest.' M. Meyer answered, 'If you thus disregard justice, I cannot help it.' Thereon he was put in arrest in the Fort.<sup>1</sup>

M. [Le] Faucheur, M. Courtin's writer, and the Choultry-writers made out a list of the houses of Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti and Karnavaram Tiruppali Chetti and four or five others in the Kômutti street, besides Râma Pathan's and few others' houses in the Chetti street. I hear that they ordered the houses in which women and children live not be included in the list, and then in the afternoon they went to Mîrâpalli where they registered the houses of some *Jônakans* and Christians there—20 or 30 houses in all. The Choultry-writers have removed half the paddy from certain houses and the entire quantity from others.

*Wednesday, May 28.*<sup>2</sup>—I did not go out to-day. On enquiring the Fort news, I learnt that M. Courtin had visited M. Lally, that M. Moracin had talked with M. Leyrit from ten o'clock to twelve but had not re-appeared, and that the sale of the Marquis de Conflans' goods was still going on. There is no other news.

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<sup>1</sup> There was evidently much gossip about this affair, the details of which are uncertain. Cf. Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> 19th Vaigasi, Vikrama.

*Thursday, May 29.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, I was told that M. Leyrit was writing letters with closed doors, so I waited upstairs till nine o'clock. As the doors were still closed and no European had gone upstairs, I went to watch the sale of the Marquis de Conflans' goods in the sorting-godown, where I found M. Boyelleau and a few other Europeans. Râmachandra Râo came to me and said, 'Look here, M. Courtin has deceived me. When on Saturday I was asked to pay 10,000 rupees and I said I could only pay 6,000, I was told that I should be hanged unless I paid 10,000. But now M. Leyrit has sent for me and said that there is an urgent need of 20,000 rupees, and although I was only asked for 10,000, it will go hard with me if I fail to find 20,000.' I replied, 'You only know what you say.' As we were talking, the European who has been newly appointed at the Beach in place of M. Solminiac, came in and taking Râmachandra Râo aside, said, 'M. Lally has written to M. Dubois that, unless Bâpu Râo of the mint, who is in custody, pays 10,000 rupees in two or three days and another 10,000 in two or three days more, he and his younger brother Lakshmana Râo are to be shut up in the dungeon. As I live opposite his<sup>1</sup> house, he showed me the

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<sup>1</sup> 20th Vaigasi, Vikrama.

letter and I have read it.' Having told me this, Râmachandra Râo then went and talked with his elder brother Bâpu Râo, then with M. Boyelleau, and finally went to the European quarter. He looks as dejected to-day as he looked cheerful on Saturday.

M. Dubois came at eleven o'clock with the Bishop Padré and both talked with M. Leyrit. When they returned, Râmalinga Pillai who had accompanied M. Dubois went away after talking with Pâpayya Pillai. The Padré then drove away in his carriage. He must have talked about Râmachandra Râo's affair in the same way as he did in mine. Then I came home.

I also heard the following news to-day:—Owing to a quarrel the day before yesterday between M. Courtin's peon and an officer's Pariah cook, the peon complained to M. Courtin and had the Pariah given five or six stripes. The Pariah reported this to his officer, who told him to let him know when the peon was to be found at M. Courtin's house. The Pariah reported accordingly, whereon the officer went to M. Courtin's house and, finding the peon at the gate, seized and gave him 50 stripes, in spite of a crowd of a hundred persons including M. Courtin and M. and Mme. Porcher, attracted

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., Dubois'.

by the peon's outcries. The officer carried the peon off to his house, gave him some 200 blows more and even made as if to hang him, putting a rope round his neck and tying it to a tree, which made him wail aloud, and then he was untied and driven away. On his complaining to M. Courtin of what had happened, the latter sent a peon with a letter to the officer, who tore the letter up, and, giving five or six blows to this peon also, sent him away. On learning this, M. Courtin sent another peon with a severe letter. The officer rubbed this letter in ordure, and returned it to the peon to be delivered to his master, telling him that, if he refused, he would be killed. The peon delivered the letter accordingly. M. Courtin thereupon went and complained to M. Lally ; but the officer and four or five others had already complained to M. Lally, who replied angrily to M. Courtin. The latter, being thus disgraced, did not stir out of his house the whole of yesterday, nor had he visited the Fort up to this afternoon. The officer and five or six others belonging to the *Régiment de Lorraine* say that they will either run M. Courtin through with their swords or be run through by him. M. Porcher and Madame Porcher observed that M. Lally had dishonourably incited his officers to murder the councillors.

When I was returning home this afternoon M. Courtin's palankin was outside M. Moracin's house. His peon, on being asked why his master had not been seen for two days, replied that his master was melancholy.

I hear that M. Leyrit and M. [Lo] Noir were busy writing letters at the Fort from three to eight o'clock to-night with doors closed ; I think these letters must be for Europe with the news of this place.

A small English pinnace appeared off the sea-wall battery to-day, so our people fired five or six guns from our ships.

To-day I delivered to M. Duplant 600 Pondichery crescent pagodas on account of the 10,000 rupees. I have already paid him 4,000 rupees and these 600 pagodas are equal to 2,190—so that in all 6,190 rupees have been paid. I have made up this sum by melting at the mint articles of gold and silver from my house and by borrowing 3,000 rupces from China La Tour<sup>1</sup> for which I have had to give a bond for 4,000 rupees, and even about this he made difficulties. Besides there is the trouble for the pay of the 50 sepoys. Seeing that Chinna Mudali was dragged out in his cot, I must think myself fortunate in being asked mildly. God's will remains to be seen.

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<sup>1</sup> I am not sure about the prefix. The text has 'Sinâ Lattûru' which perhaps is merely 'Senhor La Tour.'

The Choultry-writers broke into the houses in the Kaikkôlar and Chetti streets and carried away half or the whole quantity of paddy buried under-ground. When the list of houses in Mirâpalli was made, the occupied houses were left out, only the empty ones being entered, as was more justice.

*Friday, May 30.*<sup>1</sup>—I heard the following news to-day :—

Five hundred or 600 of the English horse who were lying in ambush attacked our French troops encamped on the Perumbai hill, from seven to ten o'clock this morning. The Frenchmen retreated, but the sepoy fought bravely. Shaikh Dukki our sepoy commandant, his second, 20 or 30 sepoy, and three Europeans were wounded and 40 sepoy killed. Besides this 100 sepoy in their flight lost their guns, which were taken by the English. Then our troops retreated. When the English horse retired northwards, our Europeans fired a cannon which killed a horse, and its rider was taken by our Hussars.

I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. M. Duplant did not appear and M. Courtin had gone to the Choultry-court. M. Leyrit was writing letters with his doors closed. M. Dubois came and went away after

conferring with M. Leyrit. I came home at eleven, and there was nothing to keep me at the Fort. ,

M. Leyrit sent for me at five this evening. When I went, he said, 'I told the Nayinâr to bring a list showing how many of those whose names have been written have paid up and how many have not. Have you brought the list?' I replied, 'I brought it this morning, but as you were busy, there was no opportunity to discuss the matter.'—'Well,' he continued, 'bring it to-morrow morning,' and dismissed me saying that he had only sent for me to ascertain this. When I was driving in my carriage, I met M. Lally and Father Bishop Lorenço driving together. On my way [I met] a mad Pandâram who had been found in our camp, wounded by a German with his sword on suspicion of being a spy, and delivered to Pouly, the commandant, who sent him to Gadeville. I came home at seven.

Bâpu Râo of the mint, who has been shut up in the dungeon, settled his affair for 20,000 rupees at noon, agreeing to pay 10,000 in eight days, 4,000 in fifteen days, and the remaining 6,000 in another fifteen days; Râmachandra Râo desired more time; but the amount is agreed at 20,000 rupees though the time may be altered. Thus he was released

and returned home, on condition of paying with Lakshmana Rão the sum agreed on.

*Saturday, May 31.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, the sale of the Marquis de Conflans' goods was still continuing. M. Leyrit's door was closed till ten o'clock when I went and paid my respects. M. Dubois came at eleven, and M. Courtin was sent for. I was then asked if there were any who wished to settle their cases. I gave in French a list containing 18 names, as well as the names of three others in the town, who are trying to hide—21 persons in all. M. Courtin then came. I said, 'You told me to settle with Nayinâthai Mudali, the oil-monger, for 1,500 rupees but Father Lavaur, the Superior of St. Paul's church, has sent word that he has settled the affair for 1,000 rupees.'—'True,' M. Leyrit replied. M. Courtin observed that that was right, as the Padre had sent him word of it. But M. Dubois said, 'He is worth forty or fifty thousand, and should have given 10,000 rupees at least.' I replied, 'He never held an appointment under the Company. For the last 30 years he has been trading in oil like other oil-mongers and has made about 2,000 or 3,000 pagodas. Out of this, he has spent 500 or 600 in building his house, and

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<sup>1</sup> 22nd Vaigasi, Vikrama.



1,000 or 1,500 in celebrating the marriages of his two daughters. I can prove that he is now worth only 2,000 or 3,000 rupees.' M. Leyrit said, 'Let a bond be written according to the terms stated.' So he signed a bond for 1,000 rupees, agreeing to pay the sum in two months. Malayappan, who owns a lime-kiln, gave a bond for 200 rupees. Villi Chetti presented a petition setting forth his losses etc., and his case was settled for 1,000 rupees. It was then suggested that a fine should be levied on Villi Chetti for having gone out with his wife and children and returned without them. I replied, 'Is he the only man that has gone out? Except my family and children, all the men and women have gone out, leaving one or two men in each house. Many have gone out with their families. Three-quarters of the towns-people have gone away. If they try to return, they are waylaid. The paddy in the town is being carried away, and not a single measure of paddy is coming in; so they remain where they are, for here they would find nothing to eat.' As M. Dubois does not know Portuguese,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Pidithiktsu*, the text runs—not a good transliteration of *Portuguese*; but the context makes the identification certain. Until the establishment of British supremacy, a bastard Portuguese dialect formed the *lingua franca* of the South-Indian coasts, and was the only language in which Clive could make himself intelligible to his sepoys. The present is, I think, an undoubted reference to its use by the Diarist as a means of communication with the French councillors.

he asked what I had said. M. Courtin therefore translated it into French. 'Is that so?' said M. Dubois. M. Loyrit said nothing. After a conversation which would fill twenty sheets or more, M. Courtin said, 'I have told that mule of a Nayinâr and also the Choultry-writers not to seize paddy where it is found in quantities less than 100 *vallams*; but the Nayinâr's man and a Choultry-writer carried off 50 or 56 *vallams* of paddy from the house of a servant of M. Aboille. I have scolded the Nayinâr for this and put Sântu the Choultry-writer in custody. I shall question him thoroughly to-morrow.' It was then twelve, so they told me to go home for food and come back in the evening. I therefore came home.

I went at six o'clock accordingly and M. Courtin and M. Dubois came half an hour after. Many persons were questioned till eight o'clock. Malayappan of the lime-kiln, Kâmâkshi Chetti, Nallândi, Tillai Chetti, broker Nallatambi, Kôli Ârumugam and Kêsava Mudali the paddy [merchant]—six persons in all—were shut up in the dungeon with their cases undecided. The names of Kuttai Chetti, Muruga Chetti, Tiruvêngadam, younger brother of Ranganâtha Mudali, the paddy [merchant], and Periyambala Chetti, the

betel [merchant]—4 names in all—have been written in my list which may be seen. They ordered that, if I made a list of other persons, they would hear them as well as those men to-morrow or the day after.

As I was departing, M. Leyrit and M. Courtin called me and asked how many cases of persons serving under Europeans and others remained to be settled. I replied, 'The names of all well-to-do persons have already been written. There remain only the Europeans' dubâshes who are poor and can pay nothing.' I took leave and came home at eight o'clock. M. Dubois who was listening to my words also went home.

When about 500 or 600 of our European and Topass soldiers went to Perumbai with two brass guns, some English troopers fired a few shots and then made off ; and on hearing the report, our troops retreated to Olukarai.

I heard to-day that Tillai Maistri and Sônâchalam had presented a petition to M. Courtin and M. Dubois, saying that in order to collect taxes from their relations they needed power and strict orders like mine, as otherwise they would not be listened to. M. Leyrit asked what were Kâmâkshi Chetti's duties. I replied that he changed money into rupees and fanams. 'Oh !' M. Leyrit said,

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‘Don’t let him put the change on us!’ In all the five years he has been here, never have I heard him make a joke like this.

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## JUNE 1760.

*Sunday, June 1.*<sup>1</sup>—I did not go out this morning.

I hear that, on M. Leyrit's return from church after mass, some of the councillors and officers went and talked with him a little while before taking leave.

As M. Courtin yesterday ordered the imprisonment of Sântu the Choultry-writer for seizing paddy, the further seizure of paddy has been stopped. I did not hear any other important news.

*Monday, June 2.*<sup>2</sup>—When I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, M. Leyrit, the Governor, was writing letters with his door closed, so I waited at the sorting-godown. M. Boyelleau and M. Dulaurens, who came at nine o'clock, attended the sale of the Marquis de Conflans' goods, as also did many other Europeans. M. La Grenée came and said, 'A Portuguese merchant named Senhor Salomons who came here to carry on his business three years since, went to Europe two years ago and has returned to Negapatam in a 60-gun ship. I hear that he is coming by land being afraid

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<sup>1</sup> 23rd Vaigdsi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> 24th Vaigdsi, Vikrama.

of the English ships on the way.<sup>1</sup> Is this true?' I replied that I knew nothing certainly, but had heard so the evening before. He answered that no letters had been received about it and that the news was only rumour. M. Boyelleau asked what we were talking of and, when he was told, said that he had heard so too.

M. Mathon then came to me and said, 'You might try to settle Gnânaprakâsan's affair for 500 or 600 ; or, if the Governor says 1,000 rupees, accept that. But please speak to him about this matter.'—'I cannot move,' I replied ; 'if you speak to him yourself, the matter will be settled easily.'—'Not in this affair,' he replied. I continued, 'When M. Dubois and others fixed a large amount for Nayinâthai Mudali, saying that he was worth such and such an amount, Father Lavaur intervened and had the affair settled for 1,000 rupees. This man also is a Christian, so with the help of the Padré, the matter may be settled easily.'—'That won't do,' he replied,

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<sup>1</sup> The Madras Mayor's Court Pleadings (1756, p. 205) contain the accounts of the sale of the properties of Solomon Salomons, bankrupt. They display an interesting picture of the well-to-do merchant's surroundings at the time, including a large quantity of silver plate, a good stock of wine, a horse and chaise, a Bengal chair, a fair number of books, and a house at the Mount. He had probably been concerned in the diamond trade. If I am right in thinking that this man is the one mentioned in the text, he must have retired to Pondichery after his failure at Madras.

'you might settle it yourself.'—'Well, we will see,' I replied. It was then a quarter past eleven and I sent word to the Nayinâr to inform me if any other cases were ready to be settled. He sent word that only three or four persons were outside and the rest were in the dungeon. Even then M. Courtin and M. Dubois had not come, and, as without them nothing could be done, and there was nothing important, I came home at a quarter past eleven. I heard that M. Courtin and M. Dubois came at half-past eleven and went away after seeing M. Leyrit.

When I drove out at six o'clock in the evening as far as the Karukudikuppam Bounds, I heard that the English horse had appeared by the Perumbai hill to the westward and thereabouts, on which our people at Olukarai had fired twenty rounds at them with guns and small arms, but I did not hear how many had been wounded or killed ; I may learn it later on. I met five sepoy on the Karukudikuppam road, who had neither shot nor powder but only guns with broken locks, and they on hearing the sound of guns, had withdrawn. When I asked them why they had done so, they replied, 'Sir, we have received no pay ; 50 sepoy posted here have gone off already with their muskets. We have neither powder nor shot, and our guns are useless. So

how can we stay here?' I urged them to watch the road and returned home at seven.

*Tuesday, June 3.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, stayed there till ten, but, seeing nobody there, I returned home.

This is the news I heard to-day:—When M. Courtin attended the Choultry-court to-day, he asked Ândâ Chetti, who had a dispute with Âdimûlam Chetti why he had not yet paid his money. Andâ Chetti replied that he had already presented petitions to him and to M. Leyrit, the Governor, detailing his case. Without more ado, he tied up Ândâ Chetti and gave him 20 stripes. He then asked the others about their disputes. The people of the Bound-villages said, 'The paddy we harvested in *Tai*<sup>2</sup> has been seized and the assessment too has been collected, so how can we live? With your permission we will go away.' I hear that, when M. Panon was asked about this, he replied that he would make enquiries.

When M. Courtin and M. Dubois came to the Fort at eleven o'clock, they sent a peon for me and the Nayinâr. I sent word that I had waited at the Fort till just before, but had returned home as nobody had turned up

<sup>1</sup> 25th Vaigasi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., January-February.



and I was suffering from diarrhœa. When the Nayinâr appeared, he was asked if there were any cases to be decided. He replied that there were only four or five apart from those of the men in the dungeon. Thereon M. Courtin and M. Leyrit asked angrily why he had not brought them and reported the matter. As the Nayinâr had threatened to beat Paramayyan's son with a shoe, the latter went and complained to M. Courtin, who sent for the Nayinâr and asked angrily how he dared to beat a Brâhman with slippers, and threatened to have him bound and beaten for plundering the town. I also hear that the remaining cases will be settled if they are brought up to-morrow. Europeans are reported to be saying that M. Gadeville and 60 of M. Lally's European followers mean in five or six days to break into the houses and carry off all the paddy, rice, vegetables, grain, etc., that may be found therein.

*Wednesday, June 4.*<sup>1</sup>—To-day being the anniversary of Periya Pillai Avargal, I did not go out, as I wished to give alms to beggars and Brâhmans.

I heard the following news:—M. Courtin sent for Nayinâr, the head-peon, and told him that, as the Monsieur<sup>2</sup> was angry at the delay

in collecting money, and threatened to cut his ears off; he had better cease playing with M. Lally and collect the money speedily.

A week ago a mad Pandâram was wounded and arrested by a German who suspected him of being a spy. M. Courtin made enquiries to-day and ordered the madman's release; but, when M. Gadeville reported this to M. Lally, the latter wrote to M. Pouly ordering him to imprison the Pandâram again, or those who had released him. M. Pouly sent word of this to M. Courtin, who immediately sent for the Nayinâr and told him to imprison the mad Pandâram again. The Nayinâr did accordingly.

I heard to-day that the Nayinâr had ordered the several people to pay without delay and that M. Lally, who was at Olukarai, had left it and slept last night at the *nelli* tope owing to the English troubles thereabouts.

At one o'clock this morning, as two guns were fired at the Fort and the *tambour* was beaten, the Europeans were under arms in the Fort and on the surrounding walls. There is no other important news.

*Thursday, June 5.*<sup>1</sup>—At eight o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort. It was the Feast

of the Sacrament<sup>1</sup> to-day ; when God is taken in procession, it is usual to draw up the European soldiers and officers. When the Governor goes to church, the Europeans form a lane and the *tambour* is beaten ; when God is taken back into the church, the Governor hears mass, and then leaves the church, the troops being drawn up, the *tambour* beating with presenting of arms and the waving of hats and flags. But for the last two years since M. Lally has been here, no such respect has been shown to M. Leyrit, though it was last year to M. Lally. This year, as he is outside, M. Leyrit enquired of him by the second major how this festival should be observed. M. Lally replied that he could not be present, and that M. Leyrit could celebrate it. Yesterday, M. Leyrit, the Governor, wrote accordingly to the councillors, etc., desiring their attendance, and at eight o'clock they came to the Fort. But as M. Lally had returned from outside and was at his house, he sent for the second major and told him that the troops should be drawn up as usual, but that, when God had been taken back into the church after the procession, they should go to their posts. M. Leyrit, much disgusted at this order, went to the church with the

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<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. x, p. 398, n.

councillors after God had been taken out at nine o'clock, because he knew that, if he went earlier, he would not be received with due respect such as the drawing up of the troops and the beating of the *tambour*, and he desired to avoid that dishonour. Three salutes of 21 guns each were fired, as usual, when God was taken out ; but as soon as God was taken back into church, the officers and soldiers returned to [their] quarters. After hearing mass, M. Leyrit [and the councillors] went upstairs at half-past ten. [About five lines torn or illegible.] The guns at Perumbai have been mounted on mud walls at the Bound-hedge, and the Europeans posted at Ella Pillai's Choultry and the Bound-hedge ; while the two guns in the tamarind tope on the Cuddalore road have been ordered to be brought in. I hear that he<sup>1</sup> has also come in.

Since yesterday the paddy in the town is being seized as orders have been given to deliver ten garse of paddy to the *Arumpâtai* [page torn]. I hear that four garse of paddy are being taken [page torn].

*Friday, June 6.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning and stayed till eleven. I was told that M. Leyrit was in his room with doors closed. M. Courtin and

<sup>1</sup> Who 'he' is does not appear.

<sup>2</sup> 28th Vaigasi, Vikrama.

M. Dubois did not come, so there was nothing to do. I returned home at eleven.

[M. Leyrit] then summoned the Nayinâr and said, 'Have none of those who went out returned? You said there were four or five cases to be settled, but you never report these things of your own accord.' He added angrily, 'You must write out and give me a list showing the names of those whose cases have been settled up to now, those whose cases have not yet been settled, and those who are in the dungeon or have gone out.' Thereon the Nayinâr came and told me that M. Leyrit had summoned him and told him the above, so that such a list had to be produced. I wrote a list accordingly.

I hear that M. Courtin at M. Duplant's house sent for the Nayinâr and demanded of him angrily who ordered Tillai Maistri to be shut up in the dungeon and added, '[?Have you authority] to imprison anybody? Either my orders or M. Duplant's must be obtained, and without them you are to imprison no one. Obey this in future.' So saying he ordered Tillai Maistri to be released, and directed the Nayinâr to collect money from his own people and imprison such of them as refused to pay.

Two goldsmiths' houses west of the mint caught fire in broad daylight.

[*Torn.*] I hear that Râmalinga Pillai [*passage torn*] tax to be collected from 150 persons in the town, gave [ ] to [ ] to be given to the Governor to-morrow.

*Saturday, June 7.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Duplant sent me word this morning about the payment of the third instalment. I replied that none had paid so punctually as I and that I had already paid more.<sup>2</sup> But no notice was taken of this, and people were sent to me twice or thrice with urgent demands for the money, so I sent 400 pagodas and 48 rupees, or 1,500 rupees at the current rate of exchange, to be paid to M. Duplant.

When I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, M. Dubois brought to M. Leyrit the list of 155 persons written by Râmalinga Pillai yesterday. M. Leyrit read it.

M. Lally then sent word to M. Leyrit about some cloth which M. Lally wanted, but the other replied that none of the sort wanted was available. M. Gadeville then informed M. Lally that there was plenty of cloth in a godown; so M. Lally sent the following message to M. Leyrit, 'You say there is no cloth when you have a godown full of it. You always refuse what I ask for. You shall see what will happen to the godown-man

<sup>1</sup> 29th Vaigâsi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> "Sc., than was due, etc."

and yourself.' On this M. Leyrit, M. Dubois, and two or three councillors went to inspect the sorting-godown and sent for M. Cornet of the godown. The key was with M. Legou and, while they were waiting there for the key to be brought, M. Leyrit kept staring at my palankin—I do not know what attracted him—and went up to it, and felt and then smelt the top. At last they opened and inspected the cloth-godown, where they found 20 or 25 bales brought by M. Lally from Madras, 20 or 25 bales of scarlet, black, green and other kinds of dyed coarse cloth, some belonging to M. Dupleix and some got from Yânâm and Bunder, two or three bales of sorts similar to the Fort cloth, and three or four bales of rejected merchants' cloth, all tied up in gunnies and heaped together. I hear that after making a note of these, they all went upstairs, and made a list which they signed and sent to M. Lally.

Afterwards I and the Nayinâr were sent for. When I went, I was shown a list and asked if I had seen it. I read it and said, 'Some of the names in this list are in the list already made, while others are the names of those whose cases have been settled, who have been put in the dungeon or who have gone out.' They then gave me the list, telling me to show the names for each head separately.

I took it, came home, and made separate lists in French, ordering the Nayinâr to take a copy of each.

I hear from one or two officers that 2,000 of Mysore Haidar Nâyakkan's horse have reached Tyâgadruḡ, that some more horse, matchlock-people, sepoys and guns are coming behind, and that M. Lally and M. Leyrit have received letters to this effect.<sup>1</sup>

*Sunday, June 8.*<sup>2</sup>—At nine o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort with the lists written yesterday, showing each head separately. M. Leyrit and four or five Europeans had returned after going to the Capuchins' church this morning, the Fort church remaining closed. M. Leyrit, M. Duplant, the head-surgeon, and five or six officers were present, and I paid my respects. After sauntering about the hall, he<sup>3</sup> went into his room. After looking at the list I had brought, he asked me about it. I replied, 'Of the 155 names written in this list, 52 have already been included in the former list ; the remaining 103 are new.'—

<sup>1</sup> On the same day Coote wrote to Pigot :—"Should the forces now with Hidronac join the French army, or lay upon our back, I shall be obliged, instead of continuing the blockade of Pondicherry, to move the army nearer the Fort, and by that means give the enemy an opportunity of throwing whatever they please into Pondicherry ..." (*Military Consultations*, 9 June, 1760.) The desperate state of French finances however, brought these schemes to an end with nothing more than the spectacle of Haidar's cavalry entering into Pondicherry.

<sup>2</sup> 30th Vaigasi, Vikrama.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Leyrit.



'Tell that useless fellow<sup>1</sup> to go,' he said. I answered, 'If you speak severely about this, he will stay away.' He said nothing; but M. Duplant observed, 'Undoubtedly the town has declined very much.' I answered, 'Many of the townspeople have gone away; all the shops but four or five are closed and those too would be had not the Nayinâr, in fear of you, persuaded them. Should men be asked to pay according to this list, the few that remain will also go away. When you pass through the streets in your palankin in the evening, you may see how many have left the town. I tell you all this because it is my duty to do so.' He made no answer to this but asked if any in the list would pay. I replied, 'My answer will displease you and infuriate the man who made the list; but if you will send for and question the several persons, you may learn what they say and what they have. If I were to answer you now, you would only think that I am saying there is no money though others have paid large sums.' He continued silent. Then M. Dubois came. M. Leyrit, M. Dubois and M. Duplant went in and read the list. I do not know what M. Leyrit said. Shortly afterwards M. Dubois came out looking less cheerful than when he arrived, and

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning, it would seem, the Nayinâr.

then went away. I think M. Leyrit must have said something to him. M. Duplant then came out and told me to bring to-morrow such of those in the list as are in the dungeon, for their cases to be settled. I replied, 'They have been starving in the dungeon for the last 40 days, declaring they have nothing, and I have already told you what they say.' I then sent Sâmbayyan and the head-peon to question those in the dungeon. They sent word that they could not pay, for if they had been worth anything, they would not have remained in hell for 40 days without food, and that, if they remained there ten more days, they would die. Then I came home.

*Monday, June 9.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, I heard that M. Leyrit meant to lie in bed till ten, so I waited at the *Gouvernement*, and the Europeans who came also waited outside. The explanation of M. Leyrit's keeping his bed so late is this :—Last night the English troops encamped by the batteries they had raised near Valudâvûr and Kadappêrikuppam set fire to their batteries and camped by the river west of the Valudâvûr fort. M. Lally, with soldiers and Coffrees, having gone last night to inspect the batteries raised by the English, the

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<sup>1</sup> 31st Vaigasi, Vikrama.

councillors and officials<sup>1</sup> at the Fort had to guard it all last night, and M. Leyrit also patrolled, so, I hear, he slept late. Having awakened at ten, he bathed and opened his door at eleven. Then M. Law and Father Lavaur came and talked with the Governor. M. Dubois came at half-past eleven and did the same. About twelve, as M. Leyrit, the Governor, was preparing to go to the feast at M. Lenoir's house, I came home after telling the Nayinâr to bring to-morrow those who had come to-day.

On my way to the Fort this morning, I met Nayinâthai Mudali (who had money dealings with the oil-mongers) returning from the temple<sup>2</sup>. After attending to his business till noon, he went to Savarimuttu's house and asked for water to drink. But he had hardly tasted it when he fell down dead. The Governor had ordered him to pay 1,000 rupees, and he, not having wherewithal, feared he would not be able to pay it, and, after suffering from diarrhœa for ten days, at last at noon to-day he died. The corpse was buried this evening. All say that he has been killed by this demand for money, just as formerly when M. La Solle was making exactions, a Kômutti

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<sup>1</sup> The text has *apidâmulgal*. The context suggests that it is written in error for the Persian *ohidâhdur* with the Tamil plural termination.

<sup>2</sup> We should perhaps understand 'church,' as Nayinâthai appears to have been a Christian.

died, so now the victim has been Nayinâthai Mudali.

M. Lally sent word to M. Delarche this evening to meet him at a certain place with Razâ Sâhib in order to discuss certain matters. M. Lally arrived at seven o'clock, as he had said, so M. Delarche sent for Razâ Sâhib. Afterwards M. Lally, M. Delarche, the Padré Bishop Noronha and Razâ Sâhib discussed certain matters (I do not know what they were) till half-past eight, when M. Lally returned to his lodging.

*Srî Râmajayam.*<sup>1</sup>

*Tuesday, June 10.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning and waited at the sorting-godown. M. Boyolleau and M. La Grenée then came and said, 'A sum of 20,000 rupees has been newly entered against Chenji Chetti of the mint in mistake for Sakki Chetti, and so, although he has settled his affair for 4,000 rupees, his name appears again. This is not M. Dubois' fault, nor Râmalinga Pillai's, but M. Leyrit's, for he has never troubled to demand why the names of those who have settled their cases should be entered again. Nothing is to be got in the town, and many have abandoned it; but he

<sup>1</sup> An invocation of Râma.

<sup>2</sup> 33rd Vaigâsi, Vikrama.

still does nothing, instead of declaring nothing is left for us but to take ship and depart—to such a point has the town fallen since he became Governor. What was Râmalinga Pillai two or three years ago? Who is ignorant of it? But now he steals cattle, etc., sells them to the Company, and enters in his accounts four times what he really pays; and in everything he is supported by M. Lally and can get his signature to anything. Sônâchalam too has made money by cheating the Company in lakhs of transactions. It is thought that, if complaints are made against the townspeople, they will go to him with offers of money; but who will give? Not one! Though now nobody questions this state of things, another Governor is coming with ships and he will make enquiries. I cannot say what will become of Râmalingam and Sônâchalam; but you will see what happens to them.' Thus they talked for more than an hour and a half and added, 'Unless ships arrive shortly, the only thing for us is to sail back to Europe.'

The Nayinâr then came and said, 'Forty or fifty of the people mentioned in M. Dubois' list are here; I do not know anything about ten of the names; some have been repeated and about 40 have gone away.'

Kanakasabhai Mudali, Tillai Maistri and the Nayinâr came to me and said, 'We hear

that Râmalinga Pillai is writing another list of the persons under us with the aid of Venkatâchala Nâyakkan and a few others in order that taxes may be collected from them. We mean therefore to write a list of the persons under him and give it to the Governor.' I replied, 'Taking revenge in a fit of anger may be pleasurable at first, but may turn out otherwise. He who acts unwisely and has to apologise when complaints are made, has his face blackened. Do not act hastily, but wait a while and consider.'

At half-past ten M. Leyrit opened his door and came out. I went up to the *Gouvernement*, and the Nayinâr followed me. He went to M. Leyrit and said, 'I have written a list as ordered. Forty or fifty are here; ten names have been either repeated or are not known; and 40 have gone away.'—'Will those who are here pay anything?' M. Leyrit asked. The Nayinâr replied, 'When 2,000 or 3,000 are demanded from my servants at ten fanams, peons on the road, Brâhman beggars and Muchiyans,<sup>1</sup> who will give? None. Nayinâ-thai Mudali's amount is 1,000 rupees, payable in two or three days but he has fallen down and died.' M. Leyrit replied that he had heard so and asked if any one in the dungeon

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<sup>1</sup> See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, vol. v, p. 82, s.v. Mucchi.

was ready to settle his case. The Nayinâr, having reported this to me, went to those in the dungeon; and asked them if they would settle their cases. They replied, 'If we only had the means to pay, should we have lain dying in this dungeon for the last 40 days? If the *dorai* will see us, he may learn all. We have nothing.' I intended to report this to the Governor, but, as M. Dubois and M. Courtin were talking with him till half-past eleven, I could not do so, and came home.

*Srî Râmajayam.*

*Wednesday, June 11.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. As the palankin-boys were employed carrying shot, M. Leyrit walked to the corner battery, inspected it, then went to the custom house at the Beach, and, having stayed there a while, returned at ten or half-past to the Fort, whence he sent soldiers with strict orders that if councillors or others were found going in palankins, the bearers should be seized and brought with the palankins.

M. Courtin and M. Dubois then came at eleven o'clock. M. Leyrit asked if any of the 155 persons mentioned in M. Dubois' list had come. I said there were 40 or 50. 'Then, send

for three or four,' M. Leyrit said. Râman, a deaf man, Rangan and Lachigân, the *nâttân*, were brought. When questioned, they replied they had nothing, so they were sent away. M. Dubois then said, 'Rangappan is secretly aiding these people, telling them to say they have nothing, so that this list may become as dung. Besides each man knows his amount.' M. Leyrit and M. Courtin thereon asked me what I had to say. I replied, 'When the list was written, Râmalinga Pillai's man informed the several people of their amounts, whereon the latter raised an outcry and laid themselves at Râmalinga Pillai's gate, until he promised that justice would be done. This is the fact. I should never inform any one of the contents of the list.' M. Leyrit said nothing, but M. Courtin remarked to M. Dubois that he also had heard that the matter had been revealed by the people employed by his man, Râmalinga Pillai, at which speech M. Dubois' face was covered with blackness. Samudran Nilakanta Pillai, Lachigân, the *nâttân*, Râman the deaf and Rangan—four persons—were exempted from the tax. Blacksmith Kuma-rappa Maistri, Pachayappan his elder brother, Tândavarâyan (Valiyan's son) and sawyer Pâpi Chetti were also excused as being blacksmiths and sawyers.



M. Dubois was much annoyed at these exemptions and ordered the three Muchiyars to be sent for. On their entrance, he said, 'Pay your share of the tax, according to the list; or you will be put in the dungeon.' They replied that they were but coolies and could not pay. They were ordered to be shut up in the dungeon unless they paid their share, namely, 7,000 rupees. Accordingly they are in the dungeon. I then said, 'Nothing is procurable in the town now, and nothing is being brought in in spite of the proclamation by beat of tom-tom that the duties are remitted. Owing to this tax those who have gone away will not return, and those who are still here will go away. If for another 15 days people are to be troubled for money like this, there will be nothing in the town, and you will perceive that my words have come to pass.' It would take 20 sheets to write what is going on. When I had had my say, M. Leyrit told M. Dubois that, if people were asked to pay according to this list, there would be a panic in the town and hell would be let loose. M. Dubois asked whether in that case, the list should be abandoned. M. Leyrit observed that it would not induce even those mentioned in the original list to pay. It was then twelve. Before coming home I told M. Leyrit that I could not attend to-morrow as

I was not willing to be responsible for this reproach any longer, and desired him to appoint another for the work. But M. Leyrit replied very respectfully that I should not trouble about that and that I should come. Then I took leave and came home.

*Thursday, June 12.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at half-past eight this morning. M. Leyrit, the Governor, was going upstairs after hearing mass at the church. M. Dubois came hastily to ask the Governor about the new list and talked with him. M. Courtin came at half-past ten and ordered the people mentioned in the list to be sent for. Those present were brought, and, when questioned, each explained his circumstances. I pleaded for them in the proper manner and said, 'These are very poor and cannot pay. Vadamalai and others belong to Sônâchalam and Râmalingan has included [them] out of jealousy.'—'Is this true?' they asked. I rejoined, 'Am I telling a lie? A mere glance at them will convince you.' Thereon they omitted many persons on the ground that the statements were false. I then gave an account stating therein that some had gone out and that others were not known. Then they questioned Saravanan of the dancing-girls' caste. He replied, 'I belong to

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<sup>1</sup> 2nd Âni, Vikrama.

the dancing-girls' caste, the members of which dance in the temples and live by selling their body to a certain man for two or four fanams a night. That is all we have to live on. Is the Company so poor as to need money collected from us?' Thus he replied plainly and I spoke with greater force in their favour. But M. Leyrit, thinking that Saravanan must have much money as he is the brother of a dancing-girl, said, 'This Seigneur<sup>1</sup> wants to collect money from you and pay it to the Company, so 1,000 rupees has been set against your name; you must give at least 500 rupees.'— 'Nothing,' he replied. 'You must give something at least,' M. Leyrit continued. Again the other answered that he had nothing. When M. Dubois was informed, he replied roughly, 'You only speak thus because you want to get rid of the tax altogether,' and he ordered Saravanan to be imprisoned. Then the rest were questioned and sent away. As M. Leyrit's real object is to get the present list cancelled, he said mockingly to M. Dubois that the man who made the list, could only have meant to disgrace him<sup>1</sup> and falsify his statements. M. Dubois' face fell at this remark. M. Leyrit and M. Courtin offered, if M. Dubois thought he had a case, to speak to M. Lally

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., Dubois.

along with him. It was then twelve ; when they set out to go home, they saw peons and others who had been assessed gathered outside. They asked who they were, and on learning that they were those who had been assessed, they ordered them to go away. Thus M. Leyrit and M. Courtin have excused many from the tax. M. Dubois' face fell yet more at this and he went away.

The Governor then turned to me and said, 'Don't stay away, but come daily.' I thanked him, saying that, with his favour, I would come, and told those there who had been taxed to thank the Governor and pray that God should bless him. They did so to the Governor's great pleasure. Then I came home. There is a list which may be seen of persons who have been exempted from the tax.

As the Chettis had been unable to pay more than a half or a quarter of their share of the tax, the *nāttār* who made out the list was sent for and questioned and he replied that it was true. M. Leyrit said, 'How can we expect them to comply with our demand for 100 or 200 when they can't even pay six rupees out of every ten rupees set upon them?' Thus he remitted their tax also. I was then asked about Chenji Chetti's affair. I replied, 'As the son agreed yesterday to pay 4,000 rupees according to the old list, can the father be

justly asked to pay 20,000 rupees ?'—'Has he no property ?' he asked. I replied, 'You demanded 20,000 rupees before for the Villiyannallûr country. If he had any property, would he not have paid the money and taken back the country ? He only gave it up because he had no money.' Thereon Chenjaya Chetti was also let off. As M. Dubois has thus been disgraced, he will consult Râmalinga Pillai to-night and we shall see what he does to-morrow. If matters go to-morrow as they went yesterday and to-day, the townspeople will be happy and prosperity will increase day by day.

*Friday, June 13.*<sup>1</sup>—At nine o'clock this morning I went to the Fort and waited at the sorting-godown. M. Leyrit opened his door, which had been locked, and came out at ten. Some writers at the Beach and the hospital—five or six worthless Europeans—then came. I went with them and paid my respects, and waited upstairs.

I hear that M. Dubois who went away angrily yesterday has already sent for Râmalingam who, M. Dubois thought, had included poor people in the tax list only to bring disgrace upon him. I do not know what M. Dubois said when Râmalingam and goldsmith

Chidambaram, Potti Pathan, Venkatêsan and Venkatâchala Nâyakkan who have been assessed went to him or what they said in reply. He<sup>1</sup> then came at eleven o'clock with the names of barber Venkatâchalam and two or three others written on a separate slip of paper. Immediately I was sent for and told to bring in any who had been assessed. I called in packer Lakshmana Maistri's younger brother and produced him before them. When questioned, he replied, 'For the last 20 months, I have received no pay from the Company. Since I have been working for nothing, how can I be asked to pay an unjust tax? What have I? I am but a packer.' I reported this to the Governor who repeated it in turn to M. Dubois, who replied, 'Why have such poor people been brought? Why not bring Kandappa Mudali's dubâsh, Ella Pillai and Innâsi Mutta Pillai?' To this M. Leyrit replied, 'Ella Pillai has only just gone to take his food and Innâsi Mutta Pillai has gone home having attended on M. Pouly. But they can be sent for, if you wish.' I then asked if packer Lakshmana Maistri might be let off. 'Let him go,' they said. 'Go, fellow,' I said therefore and he went accordingly. M. Dubois then asked for barber Venkatâchalam to be

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<sup>1</sup> M. Dubois ?

brought. On his arrival M. Dubois told him that 1,000 rupees had been set against his name. He replied, 'I have no money and have never seen such a sum as 1,000 rupees. Though my house leaks, I cannot afford to re-thatch it.' And then, producing three or four kinds of pills<sup>1</sup>, he said, 'I keep myself by selling these. I have no money. Let those who informed against me be made to prove their words, and I will pay four for one, besides submitting myself to your punishment ; else punish them.' M. Leyrit, ordering the pills to be shown him, ridiculed the case, as yesterday he ridiculed the demand on Saravanan of the dancing-girls' caste, saying, 'Will these pills save a dying man ? And how many have you cured ?' Having thus made fun of him for a quarter of an hour, he told M. Dubois what barber Venkatâchalam had said, and asked what should be done. M. Dubois, producing the list, said with some warmth that if [M. Leyrit] was not satisfied, the list could be torn up and thrown away. M. Leyrit, the Governor, replied that if the other was resolved on shutting up the poor in the dungeon and killing them, he must do so. He then ordered me to shut the man up in the dungeon, so I ordered him to be taken aside.

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<sup>1</sup> As in medieval Europe, barbers in India were, and many still are, employed as physicians and surgeons.

Just then M. Courtin, who had been at the Choultry-court, came in. Uppattu Tambâchi was then produced, and, being questioned, replied, 'I serve the Arumpâtai for 20 fanams, but have not been paid for the last 20 months. My younger brother works under the Nayinâr for 15 fanams, and he too has not received his pay. He was formerly a cloth presser. My house is a hut which lets the rain in, but we lack the means of thatching it. If you will inspect it, you will see that it is not worth even 10 fanams.' When I reported this to the Governor, he said nothing but glanced at M. Courtin, as though desiring him to continue the topic. So M. Courtin said, 'Demanding money from such poor people, causes panic in the town and no affairs can prosper. Are we to ask money from the peons and coolies? If asked, the Chetti merchants will pay something, but these poor men can't pay and will only go away if they are frightened.' The monsieur replied, 'You object to the list of taxes, because I wrote it; you can reject it if you please.' M. Dubois and M. Courtin then talked apart for about half an hour. On their return, I asked if Tambâchi might be released. 'Send him away,' they replied. 'Go, fellow,' I said to him; and he took to his heels. It then appeared that the three wished to talk in private, so I went out.



They talked for about half an hour before going away at half-past twelve ; nor, as I was leaving, did they tell me whether the tax-payers should be brought to-morrow.

I was asked if I had spoken to Pâpayya Pillai as they had ordered yesterday. I replied, 'I did, but he replied, "I cannot pay. I am at the point of death and care not if I am taken before M. Lally or anywhere else."' They then asked if his son had also been imprisoned. I replied that he had been, adding that he was suffering much from the itch. 'How long?' they asked. I replied, 'For the last 40 days. As we have Pâpayya Pillai, may his son be released?' There was no time to transact more business as it was then half-past twelve, so I came home. As the tax affair was dropped and Pâpayya Pillai's affair was taken up, I think that the tax must have been cancelled.

I hear that Haidar Nâyakkan's horse appeared by Tyâgadrug and that his vakîl Venkâji Pandit and the two Europeans who went from here and came back to discuss the terms of agreement, have set out to-day with a letter, having settled the terms.<sup>1</sup>

I have ordered barber Venkatâchalam to be kept in custody.

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<sup>1</sup> These were only preliminary discussions, for the treaty with Haidar seems not to have been settled until the 28th.

*Saturday, June 14.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, but M. Leyrit had gone to the place where shot was being removed.

It was decided yesterday afternoon that the men entered in the new list need not be asked to pay and only Pâpayya Pillai's affair was discussed. M. Leyrit, the Governor, who had gone out, returned to the Fort at nine o'clock. I went to meet him, paid him my respects and accompanied him to the *Gouvernement*. He went into his room at once. There was no talk of the new list to-day.

I waited upstairs at the *Gouvernement*. M. Duplant came there at half-past ten, and, sending for the Nayinâr, complained that money had not come in. The Nayinâr replied, 'I have been busy sending for those mentioned in the new list, so there has been some delay in payment.' He was told that, as the new list had been cancelled, the men mentioned in it need not be sent for but that money should be got in quickly. M. Duplant then went home and I came home after eleven.

I hear that M. Courtin arrived after eleven and went away after talking with M. Leyrit. I have heard no other important news.

*Sunday, June 15.*<sup>1</sup>—[M. Leyrit] returned from church at seven this morning before many persons had gone there, and remained in his room with closed doors.

I went to the Fort at half-past eight. At half-past ten, M. Dubois and [Dominique]<sup>2</sup> arrived and I sent men to see whither they went. They entered M. Leyrit's room, showed him two or three letters, and said something. On M. Leyrit's answer, M. Dubois spoke loudly.

Afterwards M. Guillard and M. Courtin came and talked with M. Leyrit who said, 'I have received news of the conclusion of peace between the French and English in Europe, but there is no mention of the place from which the news has been written or the name of the writer. The coming ship will bring news of peace. The English too may have received letters about it.' I hear that M. Guillard, M. Courtin and M. Dubois then came out and discussed the news.

When I drove out this evening, I met M. Lally, driving out in a coach and four with two guards, to inspect the fortifications that are being raised on the east. My palankin was a little ahead of his coach, which stopped behind. He looked dejected, perhaps because

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<sup>1</sup> 5th *Āni*, *Vikrama*.

<sup>2</sup> The text has 'Manik'. I think Father Dominique, *Capucin missionnaire apostolique* and *curé* must be meant.

he also has heard news of the peace and therefore expects to go eastwards and not westwards<sup>1</sup> and not to continue here.

M. Leyrit this evening having visited Mîr Ghulâm Husain's, M. Solminiac's and M. Delarche's gardens, returned to the Fort, having decided to leave the Fort and live in M. Solminiac's garden.<sup>2</sup>

M. Lally's horse, which was in the *nelli* tope by which his army was encamped, M. Pouly's horse, and another were stolen by robbers to-night.

I hear that M. du Passage, the engineer, conferred with M. Courtin about the tax on Gnânaprakâsa Mudali who owns a kiln, and settled it, but I do not know the amount.

*Monday, June 16.*<sup>3</sup>—M. d'Andrès and another European came to me and asked if I would purchase the *turra* and *sarpêch* they had brought. 'Who will buy them now?' I asked. They then asked me to value them. I agreed and received four *turras* and a *sarpêch*.

Sînâ La Tour then came and asked me for 20 pagodas for his expenses. When I replied that I could not oblige him now, he went away, saying that I must do my best.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, to sea and not inland.

<sup>2</sup> This was Leyrit's "petite maison à la mode des seigneurs de la cour" with which Lally reproached him (Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 514).

<sup>3</sup> 6th Âni, Vikrama.

Afterwards I went to the Fort at nine o'clock. An auction was going on at the sorting-godown, and I waited there. M. Leyrit and the councillors were in council and did not rise till eleven, so I came home. I shall write hereafter what business was done by the council.

*Tuesday, June 17.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit's doors were closed, so, having made enquiries upstairs, I waited at the sorting-godown. No Europeans turned up and the Fort was as silent as death. M. La Grenée came and talked with M. Leyrit, and went away saying that there would be a council to-morrow.

There was disagreement between *nâttân* Tillai Maistri and M. Cornet's dubâsh at the Choultry about the tax on the Agamudaiyans. M. Cornet's dubâsh beat a Company's sepoy, so I hear that a fine of 100 rupees has been ordered to be paid to the Company besides 200 rupees by Tillai Maistri for M. Cornet's billet said to have been lost.

I hear that the *Padré* Bishop of Mylapore, 200 German troopers and *Sôgi Pandit* (*Râmalinga Pillai's* man) have gone to meet Mysore Haidar Nâyakkan, encamped at Tyâgadrag.

The European who came and said that a council was to be held, when asked why, replied, 'When two or three councillors went to M. Lally yesterday, he said to them angrily that there was not a single cash for expenses, that the officers were starving, and that, if money were not paid, there would be murder. As for M. Lally, he sits tight on his ten or fifteen lakhs of rupees without giving the officers a single cash and wants M. Leyrit to find the money. The soldiers seize and kill the cattle belonging to the ryots outside ; but the officers have not been paid a cash and are dying of hunger, selling their very clothes in order to get food. Knowing that nothing more can be got from the Tamils, they<sup>1</sup> propose to raise money from the Europeans, and a council will be held for that purpose to-morrow.'

*Wednesday, June 18.*<sup>2</sup>—When the sepoys came this morning and demanded their pay for the month, I replied, 'I cannot pay. M. Guillard told me to provide pay for two months and I have done so. I have been unjustly required to pay 10,000 rupees. This I cannot do, and men are constantly coming to me about it.' The sepoys continued, 'We belong to you, so you should pay us. Eleven

<sup>1</sup> i.e., councillors, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 8th *Āni*, *Vikrama*.

persons were appointed to provide pay ; and, when Periyanna Mudali, Kandappa Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai, the Guntûr people, Chinna Mudali and Appu Mudali refused, M. Leyrit summoned them and ordered them to pay, and they are paying accordingly. You should do the same.' I said I could not, whereon 20 or 30 of them assembled, shouting together for some time, and then complained to M. Dubois, who, I hear, said that he would consult M. Leyrit to-morrow and give a reply.

I heard in the afternoon that M. Leyrit walked alone to the corner battery in the north-east where he stayed till eight o'clock, and then walked to the old *Gouvernement* formerly occupied by M. Dupleix, where he ate and then returned to the Fort at ten. I have heard no other important news.

*Thursday, June 19.*<sup>1</sup>—This morning, the Nayinâr and Ânandan (M. Duplant's writer) came to my house and after reporting their collections of the tax, added, 'When M. Courtin visited M. Duplant's yesterday, he said that he had not seen you. We replied that you were about. He then asked if you would be at the Fort to-morrow, to which we answered that you might.' I asked them why I was wanted, to which they replied that

it was about asking the people for the tax to-day. I told them to reply if asked, that I was not well.

At nine o'clock M. Courtin who was with M. Leyrit at the Fort sent a peon for me. I sent word that I could not come as I had taken physic. It remains to be seen what will happen.

I have heard the following news :—In Gnânaprakâsa Mudali's case, which has already been settled for 500 rupees by M. du Passage, the engineer, no bond was taken ; so M. Courtin sent for him to-day and told him to sign a bond for 500 rupees ; M. Dubois said that Gnânaprakâsa Mudali could pay 1,000 rupees and that, if he refused to pay that sum, he should be shut up in the dungeon with the Europeans. He then signed and gave a note for 1,000 rupees but how can an affair already settled be re-opened and determined wrongfully ? The Governor does nothing, instead of making proper enquiries.

Then the Muchiyars were summoned and questioned. They replied that they had nothing, whereon they were shut up in the dungeon with the Europeans. Mannappa Mudali was then sent for and told to sign [a bond] for 1,000 rupees. He replied that if he had had this sum, he would not have remained in the dungeon. When asked



what he could pay, he replied he would agree to 300 rupees which he had already promised. But, being required to give more, he declared that he could not, and so he was ordered to be shut up with the Europeans.

Afterwards Vadamalai Pillai (Sônâchalam's uncle) was sent for. It was pointed out that his affair had already been settled. 'Never mind, bring him,' they replied. The clock then struck twelve, so they went home. I hear that, before leaving, they ordered Vadamalai to be brought this evening.

I hear that nobody was sent for and questioned this afternoon and that M. Loyrit has gone to M. [Le]noir's house.

I heard this evening that M. Lally had received a letter saying that the German troopers who accompanied the Bishop Padré to Tyâgadrug, and the commandant of Gingee, defeated the English troops encamped at Tiruk-kôylûr with 30 Europeans, 400 horse and 500 foot, and captured the 30 Europeans, some horses and guns and that the rest had fled.<sup>1</sup>

*Friday, June 20.*<sup>2</sup>—Having heard last night that Vîraperumâl Pillai (son of Muttu Vîra-

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<sup>1</sup> According to both Orme (ii, 641) and Coote (letter of June 24 *ap. Military Consultations*, June 27, 1760) the Mysoreans slipped by the detachment under Major More, seeking to block their way into Pondichery without an engagement.

<sup>2</sup> 10th Âni, Vikrama.

râghava Pillai, nephew of Emberumâl Pillai) who had yesterday partaken of food after fasting for three days, was very ill and that his body had become cold, I visited him at half-past seven this morning. He was breathing hard ; and, thinking there was no hope, I went to the Fort ; but just as I was getting out of my palankin after visiting the sorting-godown, I heard that he was dead. I therefore came home, and, after the corpse had been burnt, I bathed and stayed at home.

After Guruva Pillai's return from Europe, we two went to St. Thomas' Mount in the year *Subhakrut*<sup>1</sup> for the *Maratirunâl*<sup>2</sup> there and thence to Madras. Vîraperumâl had a chest like a fowl's, so he was branded in five places in the chest,<sup>3</sup> and his mother took him to the Mount in order to fulfil a vow, when he was two years old, so now his age should have been 41. I sent word to M. Loyrit about his death to-day.

M. Courtin who has been holding the Choultry-court up to to-day without me, went to M. Duplant's house and thence to the Fort at half-past eleven. M. Dubois was also

<sup>1</sup> 1722-1723.

<sup>2</sup> Literally the tree festival. The only festival celebrated at the Mount seems to have included both Hindu and Christian elements. See Marco Polo, Bk. iii, ch. xx, and Love's *Vestiges*, ii. 100 and iii, 41. I cannot explain the name given it by the Diarist.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mandelslo's *Travels*, (ed. 1669), p. 56.

present there. I hear that they summoned the Nayinâr and blamed him severely in M. Leyrit's presence because money was not coming in although a sum of 20,000 rupees was due for this instalment, and ordered that as Mannappa Mudali (elder brother of Kumarappa Mudali who is in the dungeon) was roaming about, he should be brought to M. Courtin's house at four o'clock along with Vadamalai Pillai (Sônâchalam's uncle).

I heard to-day that 20 or 30 English horse, 100 or 150 Muhammadan horse and 100 or 150 foot guided by the *talaiyâri* of Âlankuppam, visited and occupied my Choultry where they seized the men that were bringing hither barrels of ghi and plantains, beating them severely and warning them that, if they brought such things again, they would be severely dealt with. I also hear that about 1,000 horse appeared close to the Bound-hedge, that Pigot of Madras has written a letter to M. Lally recalling the councillors, writers and officers who have signed paroles, and that M. Lally has therefore written to those taken in Bengal and Masulipatam and the councillors and officers taken in recent fights, who will set out in two or three days.

[*Saturday*], *June 21*.<sup>1</sup>—I did not go out to-day on account of Vîraperumâl's death and the

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<sup>1</sup> [11th Âni, Vikrama.]

retying of the turban. Since last night the weather has been cloudy and it has drizzled. I shall write the Fort news when I have learnt it. [*About seven lines wanting.*]

*Sunday, June 22.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at half-past eight this morning. M. Leyrit, who had returned after having heard mass at the Capuchins' church at seven, went into his room and shut his doors. The Fort church has been closed, and no mass said there for two or three Sundays. The Fort people say that M. Leyrit has gone nowhere but to the Capuchins' church. While I was waiting upstairs at the *Gouvernement* a few European gentlemen came and said, 'M. Leyrit is getting his goods packed ready to take ship and means to get an English pass for he can endure his position no longer, and is much upset by M. Lally's order that he is not to open letters addressed to him but send them on to M. Lally. And so, we hear, M. Leyrit has resolved to take his passage. Afterwards [*half a line lost*] came and went away after talking with M. Leyrit. M. Dubois then came, and took leave after talking for about a quarter of an hour. M. Courtin also came at eleven o'clock, talked and went away. [*Almost the whole of seven lines lost. The word sepoys and Kandappa Mudali's and Leyrit's*

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<sup>1</sup> 12th Âni, Vikrama.

*names alone appear.]* It is also required for food.' They were told to ask M. Leyrit who pays the Company's people. The officers replied, 'What has M. Leyrit? You take all the money that comes in, so you must pay.' I hear that he called them dogs with other insulting names, vowing that, if they failed to march in 24 hours, that is, by to-morrow, they should be hanged. When asked how many were prisoners, one replied that there were about 400—officers, councillors and writers—taken prisoners in the fights at Bengal, Masulipatam, Kârikâl, Wandiwash and Madras; but another said that the number was 300 and a third 200. Except M. Courtin who was far away in Bengal and M. Gadeville who had been exchanged, all the rest have been ordered to go.

Many guns were fired to-day by the English troops encamped at the Valudâvûr fort—I do not know if there is a festival.

M. Guillard said in the course of the conversation that he could not read so well as formerly and that though good glasses could only be had in Europe, yet if there were any good eye-doctors here, he would like them to be sent for. I replied that all had gone out owing to the troubles but that I would get them on their return.

Till now M. Leyrit has patiently borne M. Lally's blows, kicks and abuse, thinking that as he has the rank of Governor, he will be able to explain his case on returning to Europe; [*passage torn*] for M. Lally reads the letters himself, not allowing the other to do so. A few respectable Europeans have been saying that he is much depressed and is preparing to sail for Europe.

*Monday, June 23.*<sup>1</sup>—On my way to the Fort this morning, I saw M. Leyrit in an old but complete palankin near the carpenters' shop with two or three peons and a chobdar, talking with the European who is in charge of the carriage-bullocks. I paid him my respects with a bouquet and he returned my compliments. He looked very dejected. Afterwards he walked to the Fort and I accompanied him. He went into M. Cornet's *comptoir*, told him to settle the accounts quickly, then went to M. Petival's *comptoir* and said the same, and thence went to the *Gouvernement*. I remained at the sorting-godown.

M. Guillard came there after talking with M. Leyrit and I told him that I could not bear the sepoys' troubles any longer, that, according to his orders, I had paid them for two months but I could not pay anything hereafter.

‘[*About six words lost*] to pay for two months,’ M. Guillard replied, ‘and the council ordered the same. You had better now write [a petition] to the council and I will speak about it.’ Savarirâya Pillai, Periyanna Mudali and Appu Mudali were present and I told Appu Mudali to present a petition about the affair of the sepoys. It was then eleven o’clock, so I came home.

Pâncu, M. Dubois’ Topass servant, came to me this evening in Muhammadan dress, and said that his master had sent him to ask me about the sepoys’ pay. When I explained my position to him, he said that he had been told to ask me whether I would pay or not. I sent him away, desiring him to speak on my behalf.

As the English horse appeared near Kâttumêttu and the Bound-hedge this morning, our men at Ella Pillai’s Choultry fired, killing a horse and its rider, whereon the rest of the horse retreated.

*Tuesday, June 24.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning.

It was the feast of St. John yesterday, when it is usual to fix a palmyra south of the Fort and build faggots round it, to which the Governor, the Padré, councillors, soldiers, etc.,

will march in order, the *tambour* beating, and when the *Padré* has read the *Vêdas*, the Governor and he set fire to the faggots, and the soldiers who are drawn up, fire their guns thrice and three salutes of 21 guns each are fired by the Fort and the ships, if any, in the roads, followed by a display of fireworks, and, when the troops disperse, they go firing one gun after another. The day following the troops at the Fort are drawn up and the *tambour* beaten; the Governor, councillors and others after hearing mass cry '*Vive le Roi*, Long live the King;' then three volleys are fired and afterwards three salutes of 21 guns each; all then return home to eat and enjoy a feast. But this year there was no such thing, and M. Leyrit, after hearing mass at the Capuchins' church at seven o'clock, returned and shut himself up in his room. Usually three or four Europeans visit him, but to-day none did, and the place was as if uninhabited. There were only the soldiers at the gate and the Fort church remained closed.

The sepoys' man who came yesterday said that, if the sepoys' pay for 15 days was not paid, they would sit *dharna* at my door. As they are all pale with parched mouths, I said, 'Well, there is the porcelain [     ]. I will do my best. Come this evening.' Appu Mudali came and showed me his petition about the



sepoys' pay. As it was not proper, I pointed out to him certain details and came home at ten.

Two thousand horse of the Mysore troops under Haidar Nâyakkan's brother-in-law with Mysore Venkatanâranappa Ayyan reached Villiyanallûr this evening. Our troops encamped at Perumbai hill, fearing that the English were coming, at eleven last night fired their guns and muskets but then kept quiet, learning that those who had come were our own people. Fortunately no one was wounded. M. Lally who was at the powder-factory went in the evening to M. [ ]'s house where he is halting, and stayed there till eleven, but then returned again to the powder-factory.

*Wednesday, June 25.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Lally and 100 or 200 troopers visited Haidar Nâyakkan at Villiyanallûr. Immediately the latter advanced to receive him and at the time of their visit, a salute of 21 guns was fired. After discussing certain matters, M. Lally inspected the 2,000 horse that had come and found them good. On their march, the Mysore troops plundered Tiruviti, Panruti, Tûkkanâmpâkkam, etc. places, seizing cattle, women's cloths and women, and committing other havoc.

I hear that a cow and calf sells in their camp for two rupees. Hearing that the English were getting provisions, the Mysore horse marched in the afternoon to Kâsuppâlaiyam and Karupillai Choultry, and killed 10 or 15 of the 50 sepoys posted there, whereon the rest fled throwing away their guns; and when the Mysore troops were preparing to carry them off and were attacked by the English, in the skirmish that followed, 43 horses and 17 muskets belonging to the English posted at Karuppa [*sic*] Pillai's Choultry, were captured by the Mysore troops.<sup>1</sup> One Mysore trooper lost a hand, another had a shot lodged in his belly, a third was wounded in the thigh and the back. These three were immediately carried off to the hospital to have their wounds dressed, so that they may soon recover. Our 300 Hussars who had gone, fearing that, if they helped the Mysore troops when the battle was going on, they would be disrespected, ran away hastily to Ella Pillai's Choultry without turning back. Thereon the Mysore horse retreated slowly. Perceiving this, the English troops nevertheless did not venture to pursue the retreating army but marched aside while the Mysore troops marched into their camp. The Muhammadan commander of the Mysore troops formerly

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Orme, ii, 642.

called himself Mahatmalli Nâyakkan but now Mahatmalli Khân.<sup>1</sup> His master's name was formerly Haidar Nâyakkan but now he calls himself Haidar 'Alî Khân, and so his brother-in-law has changed his name in the same manner. The *bakhshî*'s name is Venkata Râo, the dîwân's Venkâji Pandit and the vakîl's Venkatanâranappa Ayyan. I hear that M. Lally, M. Delarche, Father Noronha, the bishop Padré of Mylapore, Mahatmalli Khân from Mysore, *bakhshî* Venkata Râo and vakîl Venkatanâranappa Ayyan remained in M. Barthélemy's garden this evening owing to the troubles.<sup>2</sup>

I drove out this evening as far as Muttirai-pâlaiyam and returned home at seven by the road.

Bullocks and sheep were seized this morning in the town besides carts and oxen to be sent to camp with powder, provisions, etc. I hear also that paddy found with the townspeople is being seized.

*Thursday, June 26.*<sup>3</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit was in his room with doors closed. M. Boyelleau and M. Guillard then came and asked whether M. Lally

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<sup>1</sup> We should probably read Makdhûm 'Alî, the name of Haidar's brother-in-law.

<sup>2</sup> They were doubtless discussing terms. For the negotiations see Orme, ii, 637-638, Wilks, i, 253-255 and Rice's *Mysore*, i, 377-378.

<sup>3</sup> 16th Âni, Vikrama.

had visited Haidar Nâyakkan's brother-in-law. I replied that he had visited the *bakhshî* yesterday and not the other. They continued, 'We hear that he visited him to-day. What are the terms of the agreement?' I replied, 'How can I know? I hear that half of the country that may be seized now and Tyâga-drug, etc. country are to be given. Some other terms also have to be discussed.' They then observed smilingly and derisively, 'See M. Lally's wisdom! He should have stayed in the Fort and sent for him to discuss the terms. A fine thing indeed to go to him instead!' They then went home.

Father Noronha, the Bishop of Mylapore, came in a carriage to see M. Leyrit and then went away.

Afterwards the Nayinâr and Ânandan, M. Duplant's writer, came and said that statements had been ordered to be given to M. Courtin about the tax to be collected and that a sum of 2,300 and odd rupees had been entered against me and 50 rupees against Mutta Pillai. I replied that they might omit our dues but write out a list of the sums due from others, and that we would pay our dues in sums of 100 or 200 rupees. They agreed and went away. It was then eleven o'clock.

Father Noronha, the Bishop of Mylapore sent for the Nayinâr and told him that

M. Lally three days ago had ordered the release of the palankin-bearer of Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, imprisoned on the suspicion of his being a spy, and that M. Gadeville knew this. Thereon the Nayinâr released him and reported the matter to M. Courtin who blamed him for releasing the man without his orders and threatened to imprison him if he failed to bring and imprison the man again. When the Nayinâr reported this to me, I told him to inform the Padré who was talking with M. Leyrit. The Nayinâr did so and the Padré also spoke to M. Leyrit who told the first that he might go. When M. Courtin sent for the Nayinâr again, the latter sent word that he would come after about an hour. This roused M. Courtin's anger, and he, vowing that he would shut the other up in the dungeon, got into his palankin, and went to the East Gate of the Fort to fetch the corporal ; but as he was not to be found, M. Courtin waited there half an hour. The Nayinâr learning this, went to M. Leyrit and complained that M. Courtin was threatening to shut him up in the dungeon. Thereon M. Leyrit gave a note to M. Courtin ; but by that time the latter had sent for the Nayinâr. I hear that, when the Nayinâr delivered the note to M. Courtin, the latter took it to M. Leyrit and they talked loudly together.

Afterwards M. Courtin sent for the Choultry-writers, so Sîyâla Pillai, the monigar, went. M. Courtin asked him why he had not reported the palankin-bearer's release to him and then ordered his imprisonment. He was led to prison accordingly.

But [M. Courtin] again sent for him<sup>1</sup> and said, 'I shall attend the Choultry [*torn*] and then I will speak about everything.' So saying he dismissed him.

I saw M. Boyelleau, M. Guillard and M. Dulaurens in the Fort but no other Europeans. The Bishop Padré who came in a carriage, after speaking with M. Loyrit went away. I came home at eleven.

M. Lally went to Villiyanallûr this evening to discuss terms with Haidar Nâyakkan's brother-in-law who has come from Mysore, and gave him cloths and other presents with a salute of 21 guns which was repeated when he left the fort. Afterwards M. Lally went to M. Barthélemy's garden. This is the news I have heard. I shall learn and write the terms of peace.

I hear that, as the Nayinâr was summoned and told to keep bazaars for the army, he sent for the bazaar-people and told them to open bazaars accordingly.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., Sîyâla Pillai.

When M. Guillard was talking with me at the Fort, he reminded me of his desire to find a physician to treat his eyes. I replied, 'There is a clever one at Porto Novo, but I do not know whither he has gone owing to the troubles. I have already sent a man to him and as soon as he comes, I will send him.'

I have already written that terms of peace have been discussed between Makdhûm 'Alî Khân (Haidar Nâyakkan's brother-in-law) and M. Lally, who has been unable to visit the other as he was unwell. A salute of 21 guns was ordered to be fired on his entering the Fort and the same number on his departure, and the salutes were fired accordingly. M. Lally then returned after inspecting this and the Fort for some time.

*Friday, June 27.*<sup>1</sup>—After I went to the Fort this morning, M. Guillard also came. After some conversation I said, 'I have told M. Leyrit a dozen times already that, on account of the levy of taxes in the town and the seizure of the paddy stored here for food, people have been driven away and that the town will be ruined. He agreed with me. M. Courtin also admits it; and when I have mentioned it in your presence two or three times, you said I was right. I said all this

because, ever since M. Lenoir's time, it has been the duty of the Company's *courtier* to attend to the business of the government, and give no room for complaint. I have only done my duty. Can I then be blamed? I only spoke thus because I thought that if the town were ruined, you would all have to sail away to Europe. Now men of any rank may enter the Fort on horseback accompanied with their roundels. But, when M. Lenoir and M. Dulaurens were managing affairs, a *sous-marchand*, rode into the Fort. Seeing this from the sorting-godown, M. Dulaurens called him, gave him many stripes with his cane, and then, calling the corporal of the guard, had the dog shut up in the dungeon; and M. Lenoir decided in writing that no one, be he councillor or *sous-marchand* should ride into the Fort or use a Company's horse without his leave, that the councillors entering in palankins should descend at the sorting-godown, and that none but the Governor should get down from his palankin at the *Gouvernement*. But in spite of this, have you not seen a scavenger and a Pariah boy, the former with the necessary-pot scarcely taken from his head, ride on two horses up to the *Gouvernement*, where they got down and went in? And no one questioned it.' When I spoke thus, he smiled and said that it was true.



M. Boyelleau then came, and he too talked about this. I then said, 'The town will never improve unless you enquire into its affairs. If not, it will go to ruin and you will have to sail away. There is no alternative. In M. Lenoir's time, when grain could not be had in the town, and you were a writer under M. Courton<sup>1</sup> at Yânâm, were not letters written to that place to get grain and nourish the town? Former Governors earned the glory of making the town, but now you are earning the infamy of ruining it.' We talked thus for about an hour and a half.

Afterwards the Chettis presented a petition to M. Leyrit complaining that, in Âdimûlam's affair, Ândâ Chetti had been unjustly imprisoned at the Choultry and beaten by M. Courtin. M. Leyrit read the petition and said that he would enquire into it. M. Courtin not having returned from the Choultry-court, although it was twelve, M. Leyrit dismissed the Chettis, telling them that M. Courtin should be asked about their business. I then came home.

I heard that M. Lally and Mysore Makdhûm 'Alî Khân had come to terms and that a council would consider them to-morrow.

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<sup>1</sup> Guillard began his career in India by serving as a private writer under Courton, chief of Masulipatam and Yânâm. He was admitted to the Company's service by Lenoir. Cf. vol. iv, p. 285, n-2, *supra*.

I also heard that 500 Mysore horse, 500 foot, 2 guns, the master-gunner and Alagappa Mudali (Râmalinga Pillai's man) were going to occupy certain country. I shall learn the terms of agreement with the Mysoreans and write them.

I told M. Lenoir about Ândâ Chetti's affair, that though it was the Tamil custom to settle their caste disputes among themselves, M. Courtin had confined, bound and beaten Ândâ Chetti at the Choultry, and seeing that he had not committed theft, I could not imagine why he had behaved so unjustly. M. Lenoir promised to speak to M. Leyrit about it.

*Saturday, June 28.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, Appu Mudali and Kandappa Mudali showed me their petition about the sepoys' affair and proposed as they had not been asked by M. Duplant about the tax, to withdraw it. I told them to do so and write another with details.

No Europeans had then come. But M. Courtin was summoned at half-past ten to be questioned about the Sôliya<sup>2</sup> Chettis' petition to M. Leyrit regarding Âdimûlam Chetti's and Ândâ Chetti's affairs. When M. Courtin came, M. Leyrit gave him the petition which he began to read. As it was then eleven o'clock, and I had not been sent for, I came home.

<sup>1</sup> 18th Âni, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, s.v.

Afterwards the Chettis came to me and said that, when M. Courtin was going home at noon after having read the petition, he asked where were the Chettis who had presented it, but on learning that they had gone away, he had departed shame-facedly, after which they had waited till two o'clock and stood before M. Leyrit when he was going to dine but, as he had not noticed them, they had come away. I do not know what will happen when the Chettis visit him to-morrow.

I hear that the commandant of the Mysore troops with his troopers left Villiyanallûr last night at midnight, leaving the Mysore vakîl Venkatanâranappa Ayyan and Venkâji Pandit, because the terms of his agreement have not been carried out.<sup>1</sup> M. Lally ordered 21 guns to be fired twice this evening at the Villiyanallûr fort, for fear that the English should make a night attack on hearing that the Mysore troops had departed without coming to an agreement. M. Leyrit did not agree with M. Lally about the terms he had offered to the Mysore people, and when he was asked to approve the terms, he replied that M. Lally must do as he thought best. The latter therefore said that he would do as he pleased, and I hear that this has caused more ill-feeling between them.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Orme, ii, 642-643.

I hear that all to-day the Nayinâr has been busy sending for the shroffs and the bazaar-people who deal in *punugu* [or] *zavâd*<sup>1</sup> and other perfumes,<sup>2</sup> and telling them to open shops in the Mysore camp.

At noon M. Lally sent two German troopers to fetch the Mysore vakîls Venkatanâranappa Ayyan and Venkâji Pandit. They were brought to M. Lally at M. Barthélemy's garden, M. Delarche, the bishop Padré Noronha, Razâ Sâhib, Râmalinga Pillai and Ayyan Sâstri being also present. M. Delarche and the bishop Padré asked the Mysore vakîls why the troops had gone. They replied that they knew nothing about it nor had they been informed of it. They were answered that it could not have been done without their knowledge and again asked the reason. The vakîls replied, 'Although they had been here four days, you did not sign the terms or give the council's decision.'<sup>3</sup> M. Delarche interpreted this to M. Lally who in great anger ordered the vakîls to be shut up in the dungeon, but then

<sup>1</sup> The first is the Tamil, the second the Persian word for civet.

<sup>2</sup> Much used by Muhammadans.

<sup>3</sup> Lally had promised two lakhs of rupees at the end of two months' service and thereafter a lakh a month; and "Dans le cas que M. de Lally ne puisse pas fournir à cet engagement, le Conseil Supérieur se rendra caution de cette somme." (Article 2 of the Treaty.)

wrote a letter to the commandant at Tyâga-drug ordering him to deliver it to them,<sup>1</sup> and told M. Leyrit to despatch to the Mysore people the council's decision about the agreement. A council was held at seven o'clock to-night and broke up at nine, but I do not know its decision.<sup>2</sup> I hear that the bishop Padré Noronha secretly assisted the Mysore people in this business and that M. Lally obtained a writing about the treaty under the hands of the Mysore vakîls, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan and Venkâji Pandit.

*Sunday, June 29.*<sup>3</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit was in his room with closed doors. First M. Dubois and then M. Courtin talked with M. Leyrit and went away. None else came and I heard nothing important. I returned home at eleven.

Guns were fired at five this morning and one shot fell on a house in the Uppâttu street, breaking the flat tiles, but injuring nobody.

M. Lally who was at M. Barthélemy's garden returned this morning with his goods, etc., to M. Cornet's house where he has been living. The Europeans who were at Perumbai

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, to the Mysoreans.

<sup>2</sup> The treaty with the Council's resolution of this date is printed *ap. Leyrit's Mémoire*, p. 463.

<sup>3</sup> 19th Âni, Vikrama.

have reached Olukarai, Ella Pillai's Choultry and the Bound-hedge.

The terms of agreement concluded between the Mysore people and M. [Lally?] on the 17th<sup>1</sup> are as follows :—

The Mysore troops are to assist the French in all affairs, obtain Arcot for them and defeat the English ; in return, they are to receive Tyâgadrug, Tiruvannâmalai, the Elavâsanûr and Sankarâpuram countries and Vâlikondâpuram [ ] as jaghir, with two lakhs of rupees<sup>2</sup> a month for pay after two months, and half the country that may be conquered hereafter exclusive of the Valudâvûr, Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr countries ; the French are to help the Mysoreans in the capture of the Madura and Tinnevely countries, after which the latter are to restore half the country which they shall have received in these parts, and help the French to capture Trichinopoly fort and besides are to supply 4,000 oxen<sup>3</sup> immediately. When the Mysoreans desired that Tyâgadrug should first be given, M. Lally replied that he would do so as soon as he had received the 4,000 cattle, whereon the others set out at

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., June 27.

<sup>2</sup> Twice the actual rate promised.

<sup>3</sup> The actual number stipulated was 400 draft oxen and 2,000 for food.

midnight thinking that no affair could prosper where so much distrust was shown.

When the Nayinâr ordered the shroffs to open bazaars in camp, they went to M. Leyrit and told him that they could not do so, adding that whenever they had been told in M. Dupleix' time to keep bazaars in camp, they had consulted the Pillai Avargal who had gone to the *dorai* and got them a loan of 1,000 rupees from the Company, with which they had managed their shops in camp and that, if the *dorais* would be pleased to do so now, they would open shops. I hear that M. Leyrit on this told the shroffs to go to M. Dubois with the Nayinâr and inform him of their desire.

M. Courtin had imprisoned Râmachandra Râo's sister's son for debts incurred by his older brother because in M. Barthélemy's time it had been decided that there should be no partition between them. As to-day was his father's anniversary, and as he was Bâpu Râo's son by his first wife, he applied to be released to-day, promising to return to-morrow when the ceremony had been performed. But this was refused. Râmachandra Râo then made the same request, but the same reply was given to him also. They<sup>1</sup> then

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<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Either Râmachandra Râo alone, or the imprisonment amounted to no more than being confined to the town—I think the latter.

went and complained to M. Leyrit of the hindrance thus caused to Brâhmans. M. Leyrit wrote a note to M. Courtin ordering the man's release but M. Courtin wrote replying that he could not do so. M. Leyrit then answered, 'The matter has already been settled in M. Barthélemy's and M. Guillard's time ; you have unjustly imprisoned five or six persons who have complained to me about it ; I shall enquire into that and the present case, and if the man be released now, well and good, else he will go out.'<sup>1</sup> M. Courtin on receiving this reply by Râmachandra Râo, gave him three or four blows with his cane and refused to release the man, adding insolently that he had been appointed by M. Lally and not by M. Leyrit, and that he was as good as M. Leyrit. However, on the mediation of M. Porcher and his wife, who were present, the man was released on condition of returning at five o'clock. But Râmachandra Râo reported this to M. Leyrit, showing him his bruises and repeating to him the insolent words used. I hear that M. Leyrit answered that it was as though he himself had been struck, and not the man who had actually received the blows, and dismissed him telling him that he would enquire into the matter.

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<sup>1</sup> I think, go out of the town in order to perform the ceremony.



*Monday, June 30.*<sup>1</sup>—The Villiyanallûr fort guns were firing this morning because the Mysore troopers had withdrawn, our people who were at the Perumbai hills had retired within the Bounds, and the English horse at Valudâvûr advanced to Villiyanallûr, Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, the Bound-hedge and my garden outside. Our people who were outside at Olukarai escaped into the Bounds. Seven or eight guns were fired at Ella Pillai's Choultry and our people are thus earning much glory.

When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Boyelleau, M. Lenoir, and M. La Grenée came. They spoke of the retirement of the Mysore horse, the negotiations between them and us, their departure, our people's retreat from the Perumbai hills to the Bounds, the course of events in the town, and the wretched state to which it has been reduced. I said, 'The town has fallen into poverty. The Company has seized the paddy stored by people for their maintenance and collected such taxes from them that the town will go to ruin.' M. Boyelleau and M. Lenoir replied, 'The Tamils are like dogs, for we can make enquiries only when some one complains to us. The Governor never

troubles to enquire and does no more than a wall. The Tamils are under the complete control of others, and point out such and such a man as having [?paddy] in his house, thus betraying their fellows. What can we do if people merely sit at home? We can only speak for them if some 20 or 30 will come together and complain to us.' I continued, 'Formerly in M. Lenoir's time, when people suffered much for want of grain, he summoned the merchants, advanced money to them and made them get 1,000 or 2,000 garse of grain from Yânâm, Masulipatam, Ganjam, Bimlipatam and other places in the north, stipulating at the same time that the Company should bear all losses while gain, if any, went to the merchants and that the Company would be responsible for unforeseen events occurring either from an act of State or from the act of God, and all duties were taken off. Thus he protected the people. He thus not only filled the town with grain but supplied the Nawâbs of Arcot, Cuddapah, etc., with 1,000 or 2,000 bullock-loads of rice. In M. Beauvoilier's time a tax of 4,000 pagodas *per annum* had been established for the construction of the surrounding walls. But one day when M. Lenoir drove out, women came weeping in a body before him, so he returned, called Kanakarâya Mudali, and

asked him why the women had done this. He replied, "M. Beauvoilier imposed a tax of 4,000 pagodas a year on the people to build the surrounding walls and it is being paid. I think the complaint must be about that." M. Lenoir said, "How can people prosper if they are made to pay such a tax and how will the town flourish? You had better come to-morrow morning and I will settle the matter." Accordingly the council which was held the next morning, decided that the wall-tax and the farm of the shroffs' shops should be reduced by a thousand a year. The council's records of 1725 contain the signatures of all.<sup>1</sup> Thus he governed so as to make the town prosperous; and if you would bestow your attention as he did, the town still would thrive, but otherwise it will go to ruin and then you will have to return to Europe. You know the state of affairs as well as M. Boyelleau.' Thus we talked of this and other affairs. As the clock struck eleven, I came home. I have not heard anything important.

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<sup>1</sup> The wall-tax was imposed in 1724 and realized only 900 pagodas a year. In 1728 at the request of the merchants it was suppressed but the customs were raised one *per cent.* on imports and one-third *per cent.* on exports (*Délibérations du Conseil Supérieur*, 27 July 1728, vol. ii, p. 189). The Shroffs' or Exchange Farm was suppressed on 2 September following (*op. cit.*, p. 193).

I hear that a harkara has brought a letter to M. Lally saying that M. Mariaur<sup>1</sup> the commandant of Gingee who was encamped near Tyâgadrug, attacked Krishna Râo<sup>2</sup> and took him prisoner, and that the harkara has been given a present of two rupees.

I paid M. Duplant this morning 200 Pondichery crescent pagodas or 725 rupees at the current rate on account of the 10,000 rupees of my assessment, and obtained a receipt for the amount.

M. Lally's European guards brought in the Mysore vakîls, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan and Venkâji Pandit, from Villiyanallûr and the latter are lodged in the Brâhman street.

When M. Leyrit went at ten o'clock this morning to visit M. Lally who came in yesterday evening, he found some hundred officers and Europeans present with M. Lally in his lodgings upstairs. M. Leyrit had scarcely reached the top of the stairs when M. Lally came to him and said, 'There is no need for you or the councillors to visit me or cross my threshold. I do not need your help nor you and the councillors mine.' As M. Lally spoke thus in the presence of so many Europeans, M. Leyrit returned immediately to the Fort in his palankin with his head sunk on his

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 94, n. *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> He had been killedar of Tyâgadrug.

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shoulders and never even looking back. Such words convey the greatest insult among them.<sup>1</sup> [It was as if] the councillors and even the Governor had been chased, whip in hand, beaten and even shut up in the dungeon. [*Passage torn*] as if devoid of honour, and no worse insult can be offered them.

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, among Europeans.

## JULY 1760.

*Tuesday, July 1.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Boyelleau and M. La Grenée talked with me in the hall while M. Moracin was talking with M. Leyrit. After some conversation, M. Guillard came up and said, ‘When M. Leyrit went to M. Lally yesterday, officers and Europeans, about 100 in all, were upstairs with him. Scarcely had M. Leyrit reached the top of the stair-case when out M. Lally came and said angrily, “You and your councillors need not visit me or cross my threshold. You do not need my help nor I yours. Be off.” Thereon M. Leyrit went away.’ When one or two councillors asked M. Leyrit why he did not visit M. Lally, he replied that, as he had learnt that M. Lally used violent language when in liquor, he thought that, if he went to him then, he might speak improperly, and that therefore he should not go. M. Boyelleau and M. La Grenée said that although M. Leyrit had not told them what had passed, yet they had heard all about it as the conversation had taken place before several persons, and added, ‘When M. Lally spoke thus, any one in the Governor’s place should have summoned all the councillors

and resolved in council to receive no more applications for money, to have nothing more to do with business, but to leave everything to him, while they minded their own affairs. Such a resolution should have been signed by all and sent to M. Lally. But as the Governor is a fool, he does nothing. God is returning on M. Leyrit a thousand times the humiliation that he has laid upon others. The town was a real town because former Governors respected persons of our position and the people, and the Governors themselves earned glory thereby. But now the town has fallen owing to M. Leyrit's conduct and men of wealth have nothing left them but the beggar's bowl.' M. Guillard and M. La Grenée agreed, but M. Boyelleau took no part, neither agreeing nor dissenting. The three then went into M. La Grenée's room to talk, but I do not know what about. I then came home.

During the period of Pisces yesterday Venus rose and Mercury declined ; then as Saturn aspected the house, Venus declined and the influence of Mercury was re-established. This was why M. Leyrit, the European at the head of the Company's affairs, and the councillors were dishonoured by M. Lally. The day before yesterday M. Leyrit was dishonoured by M. Courtin in the affair of Râmachandra Râo, and Râmachandra Ayyan was

beaten by M. Courtin, as the lord of the house occupied the Brâhman sign. By the influence of my sign, I grew angry with Ayyâswâmi and there was expenditure. As Mercury recovered power, Râmalinga Pillai and M. Lally prospered and the former received a *parwâna* from the latter for the countries conquered by him besides leave to do certain matters as he pleased. Thus Râmalinga Pillai rejoiced. Sônâchalam (Vinâyaka Pillai's elder brother's son) rejoiced that the *tumbour* was beaten and that he had secured assistance. Although he has received no money for the last two months' expenses, yet he rejoiced because M. Lenoir promised him some parchment money. Thus men were affected by the decline of Mercury, and, as the sign rose and fell, the predicted results followed. The same will be the case with the Sun in this sign. From to-day the Sun rises in Aries and the result remains to be seen.

Ândâ Chetti, who has been in custody in connection with Âdimûlam's affair, was brought up this morning. He had been ordered to pay 250 pagodas in three instalments within the month of *Tai*<sup>1</sup> and released on giving a bond and a surety ; but was later taken into custody again. To-day his affair has been settled formally.



I hear that M. Lally, who has been in town, left this evening for Olukarai to stay at the church built there by Kanakarâya Mudali.

*Wednesday, July 2.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau who came later talked with M. Leyrit from nine o'clock to eleven. When I asked them what had passed, they said, 'M. Leyrit spoke of his difficulties of yesterday, and other matters. A council will meet to-morrow but we do not know how matters will be settled. M. Leyrit called the European in charge of casks<sup>2</sup> who has purchased the bazaar-garden by the Villiyanallûr Gate and told him to put up a pandal there, as he means to go there to-morrow or the day after.' M. Dubois then came and they talked about their difficulties. No one else came to the Fort, so at eleven I came home.

According to the Governor's orders regarding the pay of 50 sepoy's serving on the walls, and who were sitting *dharna* at the gate and raising an outcry to prevent people from going to and fro, I pacified and sent them away.

I hear that to-day our troopers seized the cattle belonging to the ryots of Ariyânkuppam, Singakkôyil and Murungampâkkam. There is no other important news. I also hear that

<sup>1</sup> 22nd Âni, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. xi, p. 211, n. *supra*.

M. Panon<sup>1</sup> has received 90 cows and bulls and 213 buffaloes.

*Thursday, July 3.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau and M. La Grenée were talking with M. Leyrit from nine o'clock to eleven, and then departed. No one else went to the Fort. I came home at eleven.

M. Lally, after partaking of a feast at the house of Father Noronha of Mylapore, went home in Râmalinga Pillai's palankin as his own was not available.

M. Dubois [? said that] the Mysoreans and our people had not come to an agreement about the 4,000 cattle,<sup>3</sup> but I hear to-day that Râmalinga Pillai undertook in writing to supply them with the cattle and got M. Lally's letter through the Bishop Padré to the commandant about giving Tyâgadrug to the Mysoreans.

Râmalinga Pillai had formerly spoken to M. Lally about the liquor contract, the tobacco godown and the Muttirai Choultry in the town and about the Bound-villages and the

<sup>1</sup> He was a younger brother of the Company's servant mentioned in vol. iv, 218, n. 2 *supra*. A little later, on 18 August, he with three others was entrusted with the duty of collecting provisions by the Assemblée Nationale at Lally's request (Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 507); but in the following month, he was arrested and fined for selling rice out of a godown under his charge. (Lally's *Mémoire*, p. 189.)

<sup>2</sup> 23rd Âni, Vikrama.

<sup>3</sup> The Mysoreans would naturally feel much difficulty over this point in the agreement; but Haidar 'Alî whose brother-in-law was in command, would as a Muhammadan feel no scruples.

Villiyannallûr, Valudâvûr and Bâhûr countries. I hear that Râmalinga Pillai and M. Dubois spoke to M. Lally about these and got his orders.

M. Panon, Râmalinga Pillai and Savarimuttu, the Choultry monigar, made a list of the cattle seized yesterday in Ariyânkuppam, Murungampâkkam, etc. places and then released them.

One of their Europe ships has reached Tranquebar after putting into the *Cap de Bonne Espérance* for water with news that another ship with the Governor of Tranquebar on board had put in there for water, provisions, goods, etc. The first ship's captain, it is said, reported to the Governor of Tranquebar that French letters were on the way and the Governor has informed M. Lally and M. Leyrit. M. Leyrit told the news to M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau, and the latter told me that a Europe ship which had reached Tranquebar had brought news of the arrival of a ship at the *Cap de Bonne Espérance* with the Governor of Tranquebar and some Europe letters for the French. When I asked them about the French war, they replied that they had heard nothing about it, and that M. Leyrit said that that was all the news he had received.

At seven o'clock to-night I heard the following news :—When a ship belonging to the

French squadron appeared yesterday off the Cuddalore roads, she was chased by an English ship, so our captain put out to sea ; this news was brought to M. Lally by a prisoner officer who with 24 others on parole had sailed in a Balasore sloop which the English had seized, declaring that they had only agreed to the departure of four. The squadron will arrive in seven or eight days, thus confirming the prediction according to the *Shâstras* that ships will arrive after the 28th *Âni*.<sup>1</sup>

As our people are raising batteries at the Tavalakuppam choultry by Alisapâkkam to the south and as the English troops have marched upon Tyâgadrug, no English troopers have been seen southwards for the last four or five days ; so the Kaikkôlars and others of Tiruviti, Panruti and Bâhûr have been going to and fro without fear. Vêlan [ ] and Kaikkôlars from those places reported this news to me.

I hear that 84 officers on parole have left for Madras—60 by land and 24 by sea.

I also hear that the English have brought to Perumukkal the eleven great guns which were with the Valudâvûr army.

I hear this evening that Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, Venkâji Pandit and

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., July 8.

Krishnappa were taken to M. Leyrit by the Bishop Father Noronha of Mylapore, and, after giving nazars of 11 pagodas, 5 rupees and 5 rupees respectively, they desired the agreement concluded between the Mysoreans and the French to be signed by the council as well, and that, on M. Leyrit's agreeing, they departed after talking till seven o'clock.

*Friday, July 4.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, not a single European was there. When I enquired what M. Leyrit was doing, I was told that his door was closed. As it was then striking ten, I thought of returning home. But M. Guillard arrived at half-past ten, and went into M. Leyrit's for a while. I do not know if he talked with M. Leyrit at all. There always used to be some one in the council-hall, in the *comptoir*, and in M. Cornet's *comptoir*; but to-day nobody was there. I came home at eleven.

At eleven o'clock boats from the English ships approached the shore, but our ships and the batteries raised where the shore has been cleared, fired two or three cannon shot, whereon the captain of the boats put out to sea. I have heard no other important news.

*Saturday, July 5.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, but I had no speech with M. Leyrit. M. Moracin and 'Alî Khân's

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<sup>1</sup> 24th Ani, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> 25th Ani, Vikrama.

sepoys were with him till eleven o'clock about pay, and then went away. M. Guillard came to me after talking with M. Leyrit, and, when I asked him the news, he replied, 'As this place is hot and close, M. Leyrit will spend the mornings in the Fort but the afternoons at the garden belonging to the European in charge of casks and situated by the Villiyanallûr Gate. He will go there to-day.' I asked him if the heat was greater now than it had been these five or six years since he came. M. Guillard replied, 'That's what he says, but I do not know what makes him say so.' After talking about several matters, I came home. There is no other important news.

Chinna Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai, Nayinâthai (Kandappa Mudali's younger brother), Guntûr Rangappa Chetti, Appu Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, etc.,—eight out of the nine persons concerned including myself—went to M. Dubois and presented petitions to him about their having to find the pay of 50 sepoy each. M. Dubois replied, 'Indeed, it was not just that you should have been required to pay, but the sepoy must be provided for until the arrival of the ships. Can you mention other names?' They replied that they could say nothing, but he had a list, whereon M. Dubois said that he would speak to them

again after consulting M. Leyrit and M. Courtin. They reported this to me.

*Sunday, July 6.*<sup>1</sup>—Although I did not go to the Fort this morning, I heard the following news :—M. Dubois sent for M. Courtin at eleven o'clock and the latter went accordingly. As it was said yesterday that Râmalinga Pillai had agreed to settle Mannappa Mudali's affair for 400 rupees, they asked if I had come. On being told that I had not, they sent for the Nayinâr, but the latter sent word that he could not come for he had taken a purgative. Then dubâsh Ella Pillai, who was there, sent for Mannappa Mudali's boy, questioned him in the presence of Sônâchalam (Parasurâma Pillai's son) and had the affair settled for 600 rupees. Three Muchiyars' affairs were settled for 1,500 rupees, 500 rupees each ; the affair of Saravanan, who serves the dancing-girls attached to the Chetti's temple, was settled for 100 rupees, and that of Kulandai (M. Delarche's dubâsh) for 400 rupees. Barber Venkatâchalam was then sent for and questioned, but he replied that he could not pay anything, so he was ordered to be imprisoned in the Europeans' dungeon. But on nearing, it, Venkatâchalam said that he would pay 50 rupees. He was asked why he first refused and then said he could pay 50 rupees,

and then was ordered to be taken to the dungeon if he would not pay 100 rupees. As it was then striking twelve, they went home ordering Sônâchalam to be brought at five o'clock. [*Five lines lost.*] Periyambala Chetti [ ] 100 rupees and barber Venkatâchalam 200 rupees. I hear that affairs have been settled thus. They said that Chinna Kachiyappa Chetti, the cloth merchant, Vaidyanâtha Chetti and Muttu Chetti might be released, when the *nâttârs* had been asked about them, if they proved to have nothing. I hear that, as Mannappa Mudali, Kumârappa Mudali and Muttayya Mudali are brothers, it has been said that their affair cannot be settled for 600 rupees but that 3,000 rupees must be collected from them, so they have been sent for again. This is what has happened to-day. It remains to be seen what will happen to-morrow.

*Monday, July 7.*<sup>1</sup>—I did not go to the Fort this morning and not a single European was there either, nor were the merchants sent for and questioned. I did not hear any other news.

I hear that the tax-people went away after waiting a long time. [*Five lines lost.*] No news has yet been announced, but I shall write



any that I learn. As the English are on the roads in force, we are weak, and as no agreement has been concluded, they' may not come, and from the appearance of the troopers who have brought letters, I think that they may not come.

*Tuesday, July 8:*<sup>2</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, not a single European was there, so I went to the custom-house. As money is due from M. Le Beaume in M. Melon's business, and as M. Le Beaume is ill, I wanted to see and have a talk with him. But I did not see him either at the Beach or at his house; and I saw only Râmachandra Râo, with whom I talked about miscellaneous matters. [ ] Chetti came and said that M. Dubois and Râmalinga Pillai had gone to M. Lally's house, and added, 'About the sepoy's' pay which is being provided by nine persons, I conferred with Râmalinga Pillai at M. Panon's house, and he said that he would tell M. Dubois to distribute it among 30 persons instead of nine as at present.'— 'That's good,' I replied; '900 pagodas have been paid monthly by nine persons for 450 sepoy's. Will it not be much easier if 30 persons are now procured for this purpose, so that each may only have to pay 30 pagodas?' Râmachandra Râo then said, 'I was ordered to

<sup>1</sup> i.e., the Mysoreans.

<sup>2</sup> 28th Âni, Vikrama.

prepare a statement about the customs and the arrears due at the Beach and have done accordingly. You owe something on this account.' I answered, 'What duty have I to pay? I have always paid it on the spot.'— 'True,' he continued, 'but you owe customs on account of the Kârikâl paddy affair and red-wood.'— 'How?' I answered. 'When you asked me for duty, I told M. Dupleix that paddy was sent for from Kârikâl as it could not be had here, and that it should be exempted from duty just as the paddy from the out-villages is. When I explained the position thus about paddy and red-wood, M. Dupleix sent for you and told you that there should be no duty on paddy and red-wood. When this is so, how can you write thus?'— 'You are right,' he replied; 'but the sum by negligence was not struck off, and, as it still stands in the accounts, I included it in my statement for M. Le Beaume but I will tell him to strike the item off the accounts.'

M. Courtin, M. Panon and M. Nouël who came at half-past eleven about the business at the Choultry-court, went to M. Lally. When I asked the man who followed them why they had gone away so abruptly, he said, 'In Ândâ Chetti's dispute, Kuppi Chetti explained matters to M. Lally by means of the Bishop

Padré Lorenço<sup>1</sup> I hear that M. Lally wrote a note to M. Courtin yesterday saying, "I have only just learnt how well you enquire into matters and how intelligent you are ! You need not enquire into Ândâ Chetti's affair ; I will do so myself." On their coming to the Choultry to-day, they sent for Ândâ Chetti and asked if he had a father, mother, or any brothers. He replied that his parents were alive and that he had two brothers. After noting this on paper, they asked how much he was worth. He said, 450 pagodas. This was also noted and they are now going to M. Lally.' Ândâ Chetti has not been questioned further about his case.

As 100 or 150 English troopers were seen in and about Kâttumêttu, the French soldiers at Olukarai fired seven or eight guns, whereon the English troopers retreated. I watched this from my garden outside whither I had gone for a drive. My gardeners reported to me that English troopers had passed by my garden coming from Pâpayya Pillai's and Kumara Pillai's gardens. This is all the news.

Provisions are being sold to-day at the following rates :—

Rice ...	...	$1\frac{1}{4}$ or $1\frac{1}{2}$ measures a fanam ;
Dholl ...	...	$1\frac{1}{2}$ measures a fanam ;

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently a slip for Noronha, unless it should run, 'the Bishop Padré's man Lorenço.'

Pulse...	...	1½	measures a fanam ;
Green gram ...	...	1½	do.
Ragi ...	...	1½	do.
Black gram ...	...	1½	do.
Gingelly oil ...	...	3	fanams a seer ;
Castor oil ...	...	2½	do.
Ghi ...	...	2	rupees and 5 fanams a <i>túkk</i> <sup>1</sup> ;
Tamarind ...	...	2	fanams a <i>túkk</i> ;
Pepper ...	...	1	rupee and 2½ fanams a <i>túkk</i> ;
Chillies ...	...	3	fanams a <i>túkk</i> ;
Turmeric ...	...	1½	do.
Mustard ...	...	2½	do.
Cumin ...	...	1	rupee and 6 fanams a <i>túkk</i> ;
Fenugreek ...	...	2½	fanams a <i>túkk</i> .

Of these, ghi, vegetables, grain and oil cannot be had at all and the others only in small quantities. If, in the next eight days, things are not brought in, nothing will be left for sale in the town. Small quantities at least can still be got, as goods are being brought in by stealth both at night and by day.

*Wednesday, July 9.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Beach this morning, and I found there some Europeans. Râmachandra Râo who was there said, 'About the affair of the sepoy, M. Dubois says nothing ; and when I ask Louche the Topass, he says that the sepoy will not trouble us, but such of them as are set up, stop us at our houses and in the street and speak insolently.'

<sup>1</sup> i.e., 6½ seers.

<sup>2</sup> 29th Âni, Vikrama,

I replied, 'In view of this, I think it will be better not to present the petition I have got ready to the council to-morrow, for, if I do, I may have to pay for another two or three months. But at the same time I do not like to be abused by these small men ; so, in any case, I intend to present the petition to the council to-morrow.' After telling M. Dubois that small men are giving trouble, I went to the Fort at eleven. Nobody was there except M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau who were going away after seeing M. Leyrit. M. Courtin came at half-past eleven, and went away after talking. No others came there and the Fort was empty. I have not heard any other important news.

The images formerly brought from Tanjore<sup>1</sup> weighed 11,000 pounds. As Râmalingam and Sônâchalam do not now agree, the former spoke to M. Lally by means of the Bishop Padré, whereon M. Lally told Sônâchalam to take the images for 16,000 rupees. He said he had no money, but I hear that he took the images away, giving a bill on the country for 10,000 rupees.

I hear that M. Dubois has obtained receipts from the sepoys for 20,000 rupees although he

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<sup>1</sup> Probably those seized at Tiruvâlûr.

has paid actually only 3,300 rupees against these receipts for 20,000.

Ten or twelve of our troopers who were on out-post came and reported that 50 or 60 English troopers had advanced by Karukudi-kuppam this evening and were near Kâttumêttu. The sepoy at Ella Pillai's Choultry fired four or five guns, so the English retreated.

*Thursday, July 10.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Duplant's peon called on me this morning about the arrears of the tax. I went accordingly and found the people in arrears also present. M. Dubois who was there too, called them and said that M. Lally was very angry and that they must pay their arrears in three days. They replied that they could not pay it so soon as they had to borrow the money. I told them that, if they paid part in three days, they could manage to pay the balance a little later. Then they were dismissed. Of the people in arrears, some ten or twelve did not come, so they were ordered to be summoned and warned sharply about the money.

I then visited Madame Duplant who said, 'Last evening, M. Lally, M. Courtin and M. Dubois came. M. Lally said, "One Europe ship reached Tranquebar a little time ago, and

now another ship has come with the new Governor of Tranquebar and with Europe letters for us. M. Porcher's son-in-law's younger brother<sup>1</sup> has also arrived by her, and when he comes here, we shall learn all the news. She has brought glad news." ' After talking a short while, I came home at eleven.

English troopers, 50 or 60 in number, rode as far as Kâttumêttu this morning and returned.

*Friday, July 11.*<sup>2</sup>—On my way to the Fort this morning, I met dubâsh Kandappa Mudali who, coming downstairs, said to me that M. Leyrit had ordered him to tell M. Courtin and me to come at eleven o'clock. When I asked him why we were wanted, he replied that he did not know. I concluded that it must be about the tax affair.

Afterwards Ponnappa Chetti came and said, 'I spoke of my affair with M. Dubois through Râmalinga Pillai and settled it for 400 rupees. Be pleased to help me to get the matter completed. It is this affair that has prevented me from seeing you for the last four or five days. Kutti Chetti Murugan's

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<sup>1</sup> This would, I think, be a brother of the Maudave, who attempted by intrigue at Tanjore and elsewhere to re-establish French fortunes after the fall of Pondichery, and who, at a later time, figures prominently in the pages of Barbier's *René Madec* under the name of 'Modave.'

<sup>2</sup> 31st Âni, Vikrama.

affair has been spoken of by means of Râmalinga Pillai, and liquor-dealer Tiruvêngada Pillai's affair has been talked about for 100 rupees, but Râmalinga Pillai says that he has not turned up. You were sent for yesterday afternoon only on our account, and, as you did not come, it was decided that the matter would be taken up to-day.'

M. Dubois came at eleven o'clock. I went upstairs. M. Courtin came at half-past eleven. M. Dubois noting on a piece of paper the names of Kapâlan Kâlahasti Chetti, Kutti Chetti Murugan and Tiruvêngadam the liquor-merchant—three names in all—ordered them to be sent for, which I did and then introduced them. M. Dubois turned to Kapâlan Kâlahasti Chetti and asked him what he had to say. Kâlahasti Chetti replied, 'When you said I must pay 1,000 rupees, I replied I could not pay so much but only 300 rupees; you then ordered me to be shut up in the dungeon. I will pay 400 rupees as I have agreed with you.'—'No,' M. Dubois replied; 'since 1,000 rupees is the sum which has been settled with me, how can you now talk of 400 rupees? Send for the man who managed the business.' Ponnappa Chetti was outside the door, and, when he was brought in, he was asked if he had not agreed to 1,000 rupees. He replied, 'By means of Râmalinga Pillai,



400 rupees were mentioned and not 1,000 rupees.' M. Dubois said, 'This man who agreed before me to pay 1,000 rupees, now says falsely that the amount he agreed to was only 400 rupees. Let these two persons be shut up in the dungeon at once.' M. Leyrit, who has not laughed for many days, shook with laughter for about an hour and said, 'Only 1,000 rupees to be got from this man ! He is worth much, and 2,000 rupees must be got from him. Let him be shut up in the dungeon immediately.' Kapâlan Kâlahasti Chetti and Ponnappa Chetti were shut up in the dungeon accordingly.

Then Kutti Chetti Murugan was sent for and questioned. He replied, 'You ordered that I should pay 300 rupees, and when I answered that I could pay only 100 and not 300, I was ordered to be shut up in the dungeon.' M. Dubois said that he was told that 800 rupees was the amount agreed upon. M. Leyrit said, 'The list has 360 rupees ; if he has already agreed to pay 300 rupees, let him be released.' So saying M. Leyrit showed the list. I said that it was true and that he could not pay more. M. Dubois continued, 'M. Lally's list has 500 rupees, and that sum should be got.'—'Never mind,' M. Leyrit said. 'Ranga Pillai, write out a bond for 300 rupees.' Kutti Chetti Murugan signed a

bond for 300 rupees accordingly payable in 20 days, so he was released.

When Tiruvêngadam was sent for and questioned, he too mentioned only 100 or 200, whereon he was dealt with like Kapâlan Kâlahasti Chotti and ordered to be shut up in the dungeon. It was then past twelve. M. Dubois produced a paper containing the names of Panchângam<sup>1</sup> Subbayyan, Nânakutti Ayyan and Anantayyan, and they were ordered to be brought to-morrow.

Tillai Maistri wrote 20 rupees as the tax to be paid by Muttu (M. Saubinet's dubâsh) who was imprisoned at the Choultry for not paying it. Muttu represented his case to M. Dubois through Râmalinga Pillai, so M. Dubois asked M. Courtin why he had ordered Muttu to be imprisoned. M. Courtin denied that he had done so. M. Dubois continued, 'Tillai Maistri has not paid even a cash of the tax imposed on him from his own pocket, but has made his country pay it, and Kanakasabhai Mudali has done the same.' So these two were ordered to be summoned and warned. M. Dubois added that Kandappa Mudali (M. Kerjean's dubâsh) who agreed to pay 360 rupees had gone to Negapatam without paying the

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<sup>1</sup> The name literally meaning 'almanac' signifies a village astrologer who indicates from the almanac the propitious times for performing ceremonies, announces the principal festivals, and predicts rains and famines. Cf. p. 217 *infra*.

sum. This was mentioned because Râmalinga Pillai had spoken to the Nayinâr recommending Kandappan's dues to be remitted, but M. Courtin said that the Nayinâr should pay the whole amount for which agreements had been signed. M. Leyrit said that that was right and that the Nayinâr should pay all such sums. I then came home.

M. Lally drove out in a coach and four this evening escorted by 40 or 50 European Hussars and M. Gadeville to inspect the battery that is being built near Alisapâkkam.

I hear that Kandappan (M. Kerjean's dubâsh) has been shut up in the dungeon.

*Saturday, July 12.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning, and M. Courtin came at eleven and M. Dubois at half-past. As they sent for me, I went upstairs. They asked if any had come. I replied that I had summoned nobody, not having been directed to, but that I would send for any one who was wanted. M. Dubois said that he had told me yesterday to send for the Brâhmans.<sup>2</sup> I replied, 'Of the three, one has gone away, one is here and the third has gone out on business but will come back.' M. Dubois observed, 'When I was approached about these Brâhmans, I replied that you should be asked

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<sup>1</sup> 1st Âdi, Vikrama. *Dakshindyanam* [the beginning of the Sun's southern declination] *New Moon Day*.

<sup>2</sup> The reply shows he means the Panchângam Brâhmans mentioned on p. 215 *supra*.

about them.' M. Courtin then asked me my opinion, and I replied, 'Not only I, but every Tamil will ask for them to be excused and you will have to do so. It is the custom among the Tamils to perform purification ceremonies on the occasion of deaths or marriages by means of Brâhmans who receive money or rice in return for their service and so live. Therefore the Tamils will request to be excused.' It was then twelve o'clock, so they went home, telling me that the matter might be considered on Monday. I therefore came home after twelve.

Particulars of the names of persons ordered to be sent for by M. Dubois are given below:—

Innâsi Mutta Pillai, M. Pouly's dubâsh ;  
Ella Pillai, M. Leyrit, the Governor's dubâsh ;

Vâdi Nârâyana Pillai ;

Sântu, the Choultry-writer's name has been omitted as unnecessary, as also the names of Alagappa Mudali of Kûnimêdu and Unti Râyappan Krishna Râo, *bakhshî* of Dukki, the sepoy commandant ;

Muttukrishna Pillai who guards travellers ;

Vîrâ Pillai ;

Tillaiyambalam Muttu Chetti ;

Singan, the cloth-painter ;

Ellâri ;

Daivanâyakan ;  
Dubâsh Nallu Ayya ;  
Amarâpati, the parcel-carrier ;  
Irisappa Chetti ; Muttu Chetti ; Tambâchi  
of Uppâttu Street ;  
Annappa Pillai ;  
Malayâli Muttukumarappa Mudali's  
younger brother.

Out of 19 persons, Sântu, the Choultry-writer and Unti Râyappan have been exempted. Thus M. Dubois wrote the names of 17 persons, and, giving the list to the Nayinâr, ordered him to bring them on Monday. He also wrote another copy of this list with the amounts and gave it to M. Leyrit. After reading it, M. Leyrit asked the Monsieur why his two dubâshes' names had been included. He replied that he had written them, whereon M. Leyrit looked this way and that, and then threw the list down. M. Dubois asked him why he did this. M. Leyrit replied that M. Dubois could bring it with him to-morrow or the day after. But M. Dubois picked up the list and, giving it back to M. Leyrit, desired him to keep it. As he is a hard nut to bite, M. Leyrit took the list and put it down, with an air of grief and anger, and remained silent as he could not refuse.

After talking for about an hour, they sent for the Nayinâr and told him to ask Kapâlan Kâlahasti if he would agree to pay 1,000 rupees. The Nayinâr asked him accordingly and

returned with an answer that though a sum of only 400 rupees, and not 1,000, had been mentioned to Râmalinga Pillai, 500 rupees would be paid. When the Nayinâr reported this, they replied that it was late and that they would discuss it on Monday. They then went home.

A small English boat being sighted near in, three shots were fired from our ships, but they fell about four arms short of her, whereon the boat's captain put out to sea.

Our people at Singakkôyil set out this evening with Salem dhooli-bearers, troopers and the Bishop Padré of Mylapore in order to receive Haidar Nâyakkan of Mysore, who is halting at Tiruviti, and escort him hither. M. Lally also accompanied the Bishop Padré as far as Singakkôyil.

*Sunday, July 13.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, I saw M. Loyrit returning in a palankin from the St. Paul's church after hearing mass, accompanied by four pcons, a chobdar and a head-peon. When I had paid my respects, the Governor went upstairs. I waited at the sorting-godown. Râmalinga Pillai, Sônâchalam and M. Pouly came and we watched with admiration the images purchased by Sônâchalam and weighing 11,000 pounds, being carried out.

Kandappa Mudali and [Appu] Mudali came and declared that the sepoys' complaints were unbearable, that they had talked to Râmalinga Pillai about them, that, when the latter had spoken to M. Dubois, he had only said, 'Well, but the sepoys must be paid until the ships' arrival' and that, if the matter were divided among more than nine persons, it could be managed more easily. Appu Mudali said that that was why he had been clinging to Râmalinga Pillai who had promised to arrange this. Kandappa Mudali said that, when he spoke to Râmalinga Pillai about the affair, he said that he was glad and that he would speak to M. Dubois and finish the business. I replied suitably that I should be glad to see the matter settled easily.

M. Boyelleau then came but went away after talking with M. Leyrit. No others came. I came home at half-past eleven

The Bishop Padré, who left last evening to receive Haidar Nâyakkan and escort him hither, returned at ten o'clock last night owing to indisposition, and kept his house to-day also for the same reason. I did not hear any important news.

As M. Lally had ordered the Bishop Padré Noronha of Mylapore, who had returned from camp last night, to march this evening to camp, he made ready to start, and Râmalinga

Pillai put on his turban and *duppatta* and went without his gown with Ayyan Sâstri and [ ] to accompany the Padré a certain distance ; but a rogue of an officer there, seeing Râmalinga Pillai, said to him, ' You *bahinchût*, where is that 1,000 rupees which you promised to give me at Arcot ? ' Râmalinga Pillai replied, ' I shall tell M. Lally to-morrow about your insulting words and have you shut up in the dungeon. '—' You send me to the dungeon ? ' the officer exclaimed, and, seizing him by the throat, threw him down and kicked him in the chest some 20 times, so that his spurs tore the other's chest which bled profusely. Thereon Râmalinga Pillai cried aloud, ' Alas ! alas ! I am being killed ! Help ! Help ! ' But the Bishop Padré and others present looked on in silence. When Râmalingan got up, the other again seized him by the throat, dashed him against a wall, and gave him 20 stripes with a horse whip, crying, ' You mule, you may complain to any one you like. ' The Bishop Padré advised him to withdraw. I hear that Râmalingan, coming home, put on his gown which became blood-stained, and got into his palankin, saying that he would report the matter to M. Lally.

I then heard that the Bishop and some Europeans had left for camp on horseback.



I hear that Sôlaiyappan delivered 10,000 rupees to M. Duplant on account of the tax. Pondichery [*a few words lost*]. Teacher Malayappan has been permitted to pay 800 rupees by the end of July.

Later I heard the following news:— According to M. Lally's orders, 30 Europeans and Topasses went to the garden at Ariyânkuppam of M. Berthelin (M. Dulaurens' son-in-law), broke into the house, seized a packer who had been left in charge and tied his hands behind his back. In a pot containing *kambu* and kept in the room where fowls and ducks are reared, they found and seized a passport signed by Mr. Colonel Pôt<sup>1</sup> besides an English letter. The letter was to the effect that, if the English came, they would not plunder his house.<sup>2</sup> The man was brought before M. Lally with the letter, which M. Lally took and kept. M. Berthelin's man brought from Ariyânkuppam was also shut up in the dungeon. I hear that a European Padré who has come from Europe is treating with M. Lally about this matter. In view of this letter, a great degree of guilt may be imputed, but, as

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<sup>1</sup> An obvious error for Coote.

<sup>2</sup> The letter was printed by Lally in his *Mémoire*, p. 185. It states that Berthelin and his wife had only withdrawn into the town in consequence of repeated orders, 'expecting to have found with our conqueror that politeness which is natural to him.' It requests that the house may not be destroyed in consideration of the writer's services to the English.

a European is concerned, it remains to be seen how the matter will end. If a Tamil had done such a thing, he would have been hanged, for the letter was signed by an Englishman and news had been sent out. But interest will be made for a European.<sup>1</sup>

When Rāmalingan went with M. Dubois to Alisapākkam in order to report his case to M. Lally, he could not do so because the troops were preparing to march ; and M. Dubois told him that the matter might be reported to M. Lally on his return, and that, as the European had gone to camp, Rāmalingan might return home. Rāmalingan returned accordingly, but found the town gate closed, so he slept outside and returned home next morning. This is what I have heard.

*Monday, July 14.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning and stayed there till noon. M. Moracin, who came at eleven, talked with M. Leyrit till twelve and then went away. No other Europeans came. I returned home at twelve.

Senhor La Tour visited me this morning, and, on the score of having no money for his expenses, asked me as a favour to let him have some. I replied that I was seeking a

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<sup>1</sup> For this episode see Lally's *Mémoire ut supra* ; Leyrit's *Mémoire*, pp. 274-276 ; and Berthelin's *Mémoire*.

<sup>2</sup> 3rd Ādi, Vikrama,

loan and that I would give him some when I had succeeded.

Then giving me a pendant, he said, 'Papayya Pillai gave this to me to be valued. When M. Lally formerly said that the Governor and the councillors should not cross his threshold and that he had nothing to do with them or they with him, M. Leyrit and the councillors wrote a sharp letter to M. Lally the contents of which I will tell you when I see you next.'

M. La Tour added that the Europe ship which had arrived at Tranquebar had brought news that MM. Lally and Leyrit had been recalled and that four King's ships had left Europe with 1,800 soldiers, but that he had not yet heard of their arrival at Mauritius and that a new Governor and five councillors were coming.

M. Bertholin (M. Dulaurens' son-in-law) has been arrested and imprisoned over the West Gate of the Fort, and the packer shut up in the dungeon has been released.

Râmalingan and Sônâchalam drove out in a horse-carriage this evening, in order to avoid the mockery of spectators. As no enquiry has yet been made about the beating, being covered with shame, he sent Manik<sup>1</sup> to

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<sup>1</sup> We should perhaps read 'Dominique'. Father Dominique has already been mentioned (Cf. p. 160 *supra*).

M. Dubois to request him to come and make enquiries. M. Dubois sent word that he would, so (I hear) Râmalingan is at home making ready a dress of honour, etc.

Alagiyamanavâla Chetti (Âdi Vîrâ Chetti's son), having learnt that his mother lay sick at Shiyali, went with M. Duplant to M. Leyrit, the Governor, and said that he had paid his tax of 2,000 rupees, that he had a receipt for it, and that he desired to go to his mother who was sick. He was given leave. Alagiya-manavâla Chetti reported this to me and took his departure.

The Bishop Padró with 300 or 400 horse—Hussars, Germans and Aumont's troopers—has marched out. Five hundred soldiers with dhooli-bearers and 1,500 sepoys are to march to Tiruviti and other places. The troopers and the Bishop are going to Tyâgadrug to bring the Mysore army, because Imâm Sâhib's son at Tyâgadrug has been telling the commandant there that Haidar Nâyakkan cannot be trusted, as he betrayed his master, being but the head horse-keeper under the Râjâ of Mysore—first treacherously seizing Nandi Râjâ, shutting him up in the *drug*, and doing great mischief with the Râjâ's help; and then seizing the Râjâ himself, confining him in a dungeon, and managing all affairs himself, though he had now made terms with Bariki

Venkata Râo who put him to great trouble ; and as the Nâyakkan had betrayed his master and was secretly helping the English, the *drug* should not be entrusted to him. Thus Imâm Sâhib's son induced the commandant to write a letter to M. Lally about this. On the other hand the Mysoreans were reminded that, trusting in the French, they had spent large sums of money, that they knew what had happened about the 4,000 cattle, that Nandi Râjâ who came and spent about three crores of rupees had departed profitless, that Morâri Râo's troopers who had been summoned with promises of great sums of money, returned with their fingers in their mouths, having lost 12 or 13 lakhs of rupees ; that Mahfuz Khân's men went away without telling anybody, for they could not bear the treatment accorded to them, that, although M. Bussy had summoned Zulfiqar Jang with his 1,000 troopers and 1,500 Moghul gunners and Coffrees, after entering into an agreement with him, the terms were not fulfilled, so that Zulfiqar Jang had to depart without achieving anything, and that, as so many persons had been thus deceived, the French could not be trusted. This was the reason of their<sup>1</sup> not coming. Imâm Sâhib's son has been sowing discord thus because

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., the Mysoreans.

Tyâgadrag with its country is his jaghir and he wants to enjoy it. The Mysore vakîl, Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, and Venkâji Pandit received letters about this from their people. When this letter and M. Lally's letter were read, the mutual distrust was seen to be the outcome of Imâm Sâhib's son's conduct. The commandant at Tyâgadrag who has not delivered the fort as already ordered, has now been ordered to deliver the *drug* to the Mysoreans according to M. Lally's former letter, to make terms with the Mysore troops and come with them, and to seize and bring Imâm Sâhib's son to be imprisoned in the dungeon here. It is to achieve this that the Bishop Padré of Mylapore is being sent with Hussars and Aumont's troopers. It is not owing to the fear of the English that the Mysore troops have not come here, but to the sowing of discord already mentioned, and M. Guillard told me at the fort that this time they would certainly come.

*Tuesday, July 15.*<sup>1</sup>—I heard no complaints when I went to the Fort this morning, but some ten or fifteen persons who had been taxed were there. I returned home at a quarter to twelve.

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<sup>1</sup> 4th Adi, Vikrama.

M. Courtin, having attended the Choultry-court, went home after reporting news to M. Loyrit at the Fort. I have heard no other news.

It was published by beat of tom-tom that rice should be sold at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures the fanam.

*Wednesday, July 16.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning with those who had been taxed. I did not hear any complaint.

M. Dubois who came at a quarter to eleven went away after talking with M. Loyrit. I returned home at half-past eleven.

Afterwards M. Loyrit sent for the Nayinâr and told him that those who had been taxed and listed, should be told to be present at four o'clock along with me. The Nayinâr sent word to me at one o'clock. When I went to the Fort at five, I found those who had been taxed assembled there. M. Courtin and M. Moracin came at half-past six. M. Dubois did not come. I waited till seven and then came home. I do not know what will be done to-morrow.

I hear that there has been a battle to-day between the English who marched from Cuddalore to the banks of the Pennâr yesterday, and our people who were at Bâhûr, and

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<sup>1</sup> 5th Âdi, Vikrama.

that a few sepoy and soldiers on both sides have been wounded.

M. Pouly and M. Dubois yesterday visited M. Berthelin in his prison and said that he would be released if he agreed to pay a lakh of rupees<sup>1</sup>.

I hear that twelve soldiers under a guard [of men] with fixed bayonets have been imprisoned by the major to-day, who ordered at the same time that they should be given no mattresses but only date mats, that they should be shut up in a room the key of which would be kept by M. Leyrit, that they would not be allowed out on any account except at meal times, when they would be let out and supplied with food, after it had been examined, but that after meals they would be shut up again and the key returned to M. Leyrit. I have not heard any other news.

*Thursday, July 17.*<sup>2</sup>—The English troops at Valudâvûr appeared this morning at Villiyannallûr and the Perumbai hill, etc., so four or five guns were fired from the Villiyannallûr walls. Our people who were at Perumbai, retired, and those who were at Olukarai, and Ella Pillai's Choultry, fired ten or fifteen guns.

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<sup>1</sup> Berthelin says 20,000 rupees in cash, and 30,000 in goods, was demanded of him and at last extracted.

<sup>2</sup> 6th Âdi, Vikrama.



The English remained at Kâttumêttu till ten o'clock and then withdrew.

I went to the Fort this morning. M. Dubois came, but went away to attend the council which meets to-day.

The council met to-day at ten. I do not know what will be done this evening. I returned home at eleven.

I heard the following news to-day:—The Mysore troops encamped at Villiyanallûr, not having come to terms with our people, marched towards Tyâgadrag. Men from there are saying that the Mysore army has, on its departure to Tyâgadrag, been fortunate enough to seize 60,000 pagodas being sent from Trichinopoly to Muhammad 'Alî Khân besides 10,000 or 20,000 cows, and provisions and also 50,000 or 60,000 cattle found in various places.

There is also news that Haidar Nâyakkan of Mysore has seized Tyâgadrag, and that his troops are encamped about three miles this side of it.

Our people at Perumbai hill and the Olukarai gardens removed to the Mudaliyâr's church at Reddipâlaiyam<sup>1</sup>, Ella Pillai's Choultry and those parts, and were firing from sunrise till late to-night from the church. The English who were encamped at

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<sup>1</sup> The church built by Kanakarâya Mudali. Cf. vol. i, p. 293 *supra*.

Valudâvûr occupied the high level ground by Lakshmana Nayakkan's Choultry and planted their guns in M. Barthélemy's garden and as far as the Company's garden at Olukarai. Some of the English army approached the Villiyanallûr temple and our men fired guns from the ramparts, thereby keeping the enemy at a distance<sup>1</sup>.

The corpse of Muttayyan (dubâsh Ella Pillai's younger brother) was burnt near the engineer's tank to-day instead of being burnt outside.

According to orders nobody was allowed to pass out by the town gate this afternoon, but those coming in were admitted.

Councillors, writers and other officials have been guarding the batteries, the surrounding walls, and the Fort to-day, and there has been much panic in the town.

*Friday, July 18.* <sup>2</sup>—As palankin-bearers are being impressed in the town to-day, I did not go to the Fort.

I heard this afternoon that M. Leyrit was alone in the Fort, that no Europeans had gone there, and that the Nayinâr had gone but had not remained.

M. Lally sent for M. Courtin yesterday and asked him angrily why he imprisoned and beat the Chettis whose custom it was to settle

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Orme, ii, p. 644.

<sup>2</sup> 7th Âdi, Vikrama.

all their affairs and disputes among themselves, and ordered him to release them. I hear that M. Courtin replied that he would release them to-morrow after attending the Choultry-court, and begged to be excused.

A sergeant (I do not know what fault he has committed) has been imprisoned in the dark dungeon by the West Gate, and I hear that the gallows has been ordered to be set up for him. Strict orders have been given at the town gate to allow none to go out. When M. Lally was returning at seven o'clock from outside, all raised an outcry because they had not been allowed to pass the gate, whereon he ordered that they might go out and come in, so people now are going to and fro. Till nine o'clock this morning the report of cannon was heard, but not afterwards, perhaps because the English troopers were out of sight. There is no other important news.

The English troopers were moving about freely to-day from Kilinjikuppam as far as the northern end of the Bound-hedge and the beach. Moreover they have been throwing shell into the Villiyanallûr fort from the Villiyanallûr temple, some falling inside the fort and some outside, while some have fallen into the fort well<sup>1</sup>. I hear that there is powder and shot in the fort but no provisions.

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<sup>1</sup> The shells sent were by mistake too small for the 13-inch mortar and "would not take any certain range." (Orme, ii, 647.)

*Saturday, July 19.*<sup>1</sup>—I did not go to the Fort this morning. The *générale* was beaten this morning to summon the councillors and writers, so the latter are filling the Fort.

At ten o'clock, M. Lally and his officers set out on horseback for the field. The English are giving battle in Ariyânkuppam, Villiyanallûr and Olukarai, etc. places. Thus they are attacking from all sides.

As news came from the Villiyanallûr fort that provisions were lacking, some were sent thither from here, but they could not reach the Villiyanallûr fort as the English have surrounded it.

I hear that the Mysore horse who plundered and committed other havoc the day before yesterday in Chennamanâyakkanpâlaiyam and thereabouts, are encamped on the other side of the Villiyanallûr river. I think that the report must be true I received from those at Chennamanâyakkanpâlaiyam, who have suffered much from the pillage.

About the tax of 10,000 rupees, I paid [*a few words lost*] to M. Duplant this morning and obtained a receipt. The amount paid up to now to M. Duplant is [ ] and that yet to be paid is [ ].

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<sup>1</sup> 8th Âdi, Vikrama.

As palankin-bearers are being impressed and I have no horse, I did not drive out.

This morning our people attacked the English troops who had seized the Villiyanallûr temple and were attacking the Villiyanallûr fort, when our troops retreated to the banks of the [Ariyânkuppam] river. Our men at Vâsudêva Pandit's Choultry attacked them with two guns, wounding and killing about 40 or 50. Thereon some of the English troops retreated into the Villiyanallûr temple and some marching by way of the Porumbai hill, entered the Karukudikuppam Bound-hedge, then reached the burning-ground near the washing-place, seized some cloth that was being washed, drove away four oxen that were grazing there, wounded a few, and then returned to Kâttumêttu. Consequently the people of Muttiyâlpêttai and thereabouts fled in. All the town-gates round the Fort were closed, but the Villiyanallûr gate was kept open, thus enabling people to go to and fro. Haidar Nâyakkan's troops on their way hither when the town was thus beset with troubles, attacked the English encamped near Tiruviti, captured 100 Europeans, killed or wounded 200 or 300 men, seized two small field-pieces, and 400 or 500 muskets, and put them to

flight.<sup>1</sup> To announce this glad news, a salute of fifty guns was fired from the fort this evening. Haidar Nâyakkan's troops have halted near Ariyânkuppam fort. I hear that about 1,000 horse who marched by way of Tiruvennanallûr, drove in the English outposts, and are coming with some cattle they have seized, and that 1,500 horse are encamped at Ariyânkuppam. Entrenchments have been thrown up against Ariyânkuppam fort and shells were thrown in till evening. I think that the English will retire to Valudâvûr to-night as Mysore horse have arrived, but they still occupy the places where they gave battle yesterday. The town declined when Mercury was opposed in Pisces, but when it was exalted in Virgo, it brought prosperity to the town and adversity to the English. Now that the Mysore troops have arrived, the results remain to be seen.

In the fight at Tiruviti between the Mysore army which marched yesterday, and the English army, the English have lost 100 or 200 killed, 100 or 200 wounded and 50 taken prisoners. I hear that 200 or 300 of the English army have retreated into Tiruviti fort, that about 100 men of the Mysore army have been

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Orme, ii, 645, where the English loss is given as 15 killed and 40 wounded.

wounded or killed and that the rest have marched to Ariyânkuppam.

*Sunday, July 20.*<sup>1</sup>—I did not go out to-day as palankin-bearers are being impressed. The *générale* is being beaten and people are busily collecting at the Fort.

I hear that, at ten o'clock this morning, the English captured Villiyanallûr fort and hoisted their flag, and that 21 guns have been fired in their camp.<sup>2</sup>

I also hear that the whole body of Haidar Nâyakkan's troops has reached Ariyânkuppam where he has 3,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 300 or 400 Topasses or *mestices*. I will write any further details about them I may hear.

Not a drop of blood would flow from the faces of M. Leyrit and the councillors though you cut them with a knife. Till now every one has had some hope for the town, but to-day Europeans, Tamils and all the townspeople have given up hope and are in despair. Men's anxiety is indescribable and they are white with fear. Subbâ Jôsier predicted that Gingee fort in the west, the

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<sup>1</sup> 9th Âdi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> This was a cruel surprise to the French and the commandant was held guilty of misconduct. Indeed, as Orme (ii, 649) points out, had he but delayed a little, a general action would have been fought before the place, for Lally was advancing to its relief with his own troops and the Mysoreans.

Pondichery fort and the country up to the Ariyānkuppam Bound-hedge, would remain in French possession but that the rest would pass into English hands. Tyāgadrug and its country which were in our possession up to now, have been handed over to the Mysoreans who have posted their guards there. To-day the English have captured the Villiyanallūr fort. So Subbā Jôsier's predictions have been fulfilled up to to-day. With the arrival of the French ships and from to-morrow the French may become prosperous again, but all remains to be seen.

The Mysoreans who were at Ariyānkuppam, encamped to-night outside the Villiyanallūr gate.

*Monday, July 21.*<sup>1</sup>—As the English appeared in large numbers from morning to evening in the Company's garden at Olukarai and Tiruvāndakulam, our people in Reddipālaiyam and the Mudaliyār's church fired their cannon and guns. The English fired in return, wounding five or six of our men, but their losses are not known. Thus they fought till evening.

Manik<sup>2</sup> and a head-peon came to me at ten o'clock and said that M. Lally had ordered me to go to Bishop Padré Noronha's house, escort him with five or six Europeans

<sup>1</sup> 10th Ādi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 160, 224 *supra*.



on horseback, with all that could give pleasure, to welcome Makdhûm Nâyakkan (Mysore Haidar Nâyakkan's brother-in-law) according to custom with dancing-girls, pipers, lancers, etc., for whom I was to arrange with the Nayinâr. I went to the Bishop Padré's house accordingly. As the Bishop Padré had told M. Lally that he would arrive with the man at eleven o'clock, M. Lally and others were waiting for him at the Fort. When the Bishop Padré said that we should set out to receive Makdhûm Nâyakkan, I replied, 'He said that he intended to be shaved and sent word that he would be ready to start in about two hours.'—'That won't do,' he replied, 'for I have said that I would bring him at eleven, so you had better set out.' We went accordingly, but the other said that he was bathing after a shave, and would start after eating. So we waited at the tent of Venkata Râo who was formerly a peon under Bariki Venkata Râo but now is the *bakhshî* and agent of Makdhûm Nâyakkan. As there was to be some delay, the Bishop Padré sent word to M. Lally about it and told the rest that as Makdhûm Nâyakkan would not arrive till three o'clock, they need not wait but that they had better eat and be ready at two o'clock. They did accordingly, and we escorted Makdhûm Nâyakkan in at three, when a salute of

15 guns was fired as he entered the Fort Gate. M. Leyrit, the Governor, and the councillors were sitting in the front hall of the *Gouvernement*, with Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son), while M. Lally was alone in the inner hall. Makdhûm Nâyakkan approached M. Lally who, without sending for M. Leyrit, the Governor, or the councillors, called for the King's people. The latter went and in the presence of Padré Bishop Noronha, matters were discussed for about an hour. At five o'clock Makdhûm Nâyakkan was given by M. Lally one of Pâpayya Pillai's elephants, one of Sônâchalam's horses, two pieces of scarlet broadcloth, two pieces of green broadcloth, a piece of green velvet, a piece of [lost] velvet, two guns, six pistols, two boxes of attar, a few pairs of scissors, small knives and 100 flasks of rose-water. The value of the presents, excluding the elephant and the horse, is 1,500 rupees. When Makdhûm Nâyakkan was leaving after receiving the presents, a salute of 15 guns was fired. He then went to his lodgings, and the Bishop Padré went his way after which all went to their respective places. All this seemed to me but as a devil-dance or a castor [plant],<sup>1</sup> not real business. M. Lally did not entrust any business to M. Leyrit and

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<sup>1</sup> The first evidently means 'a ridiculous show'; the second, I suppose, 'slippery' and so unreal.

the councillors or discuss matters with them, so the latter were much put out. When [M. Lally] came out to the hall, M. Leyrit went and sat by him. The councillors sauntered about as they pleased, and went away, without speaking one to another. After taking leave of M. Lally and M. Leyrit, I came home, bathed, had my food at six in the evening, and remained at home.

M. Renault, the Director of Bengal, was struck on the forehead by a sepoy's sword in the crowd, and was so severely hurt that he went home at once. A sepoy in the midst of the crowd jostled an officer, who drew his sword, on which the sepoy also drew, and thus there was great confusion and alarm. Sturdy Pariahs, scavengers and cobblers occupied storied houses and jostled Europeans. I hear that Makdhûm Nâyakkan is to be given a feast to-morrow followed by a European dance.

I hear that besides the elephant of Pâpayya Pillai which was given to Makdhûm Nâyakkan, his other elephant is to be taken by the Company, in return for which Râmalinga Pillai has arranged through the Bishop Padré for Pâpayya Pillai's release to-morrow.

*Tuesday, July 22.*<sup>1</sup>—I did not go to the Fort this morning.

M. Lally, Bishop Padré Noronha of Mylapore, Mysore Makdhûm 'Alî Nâyakkan and *bakhshî* Venkata Râo, drove out in a coach and pair this evening to Olukarai where our troops are encamped. Two or three days ago M. Lally even condescended so far as to drive in a carriage with vakîl Venkatanâranappa Ayyan.

There was fighting between the English and our troops at Olukarai from sunrise to sunset to-day, and many guns and cannon were fired. I did not hear any other important news.

I hear that a feast is to be given at the Fort to-night to Makdhûm Nâyakkan of Mysore followed by a European dance and music.

M. Courtin and M. Boyelleau were with M. Leyrit at the Fort till half-past eight to-night. European ladies and gentlemen danced, but I hear that the number of guests was only a quarter of that on previous occasions. I hear that at that hour M. Lally and Makdhûm Nâyakkan who had driven out had not returned, but that they only returned to the Fort at nine and that after supper they watched the dance.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A French letter written on the 20th August says ; "Cet éehec [the loss of Villiyanallûr] n'a pas empêché de donner un bal quelques jours après. M. de Lally l'avait promis au chef Maysourien . . . Tout se passa fort doucement. On y vit danser la tristesse." (Dorez to [Dumont], 20 August 1760. Madras Military Bundles.)

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*Wednesday, July 23.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit was still sleeping, on account of the ball last night. None of the councillors were present. I therefore came home at eleven.

At noon the Nayinâr sent me word that M. Leyrit had ordered Ka[pâla] Kâlahasti Chetti, packer Tiruvêngadam's younger brother, Pâpayya Pillai, Vaidyanâtha Chetti, Muttu Chetti and Chinna Kachiyappa Chetti to be released on settling their affairs, and that I was to bring at nine o'clock to-morrow morning such of the 17 persons mentioned in M. Dubois' list as I could find, so that their cases also might be settled. I replied that I would come accordingly, and that he should be ready with the people referred to.

The Mysoreans who were camping south of the fort in the tamarind tope situated by the Bound-hedge on the way to Ariyânkuppam, have seized all the houses outside the fort. Men say that these things are happening because the town is destined to decline and the times are evil. I also hear that, when the Mysoreans asked M. Lally for 20,000 rupees, the latter replied that he would pay the amount on Monday. Formerly a little grain

could be had in the town, but since their coming, rice sells at eight small measures [a rupee], and even that can be had only with great difficulty.<sup>1</sup> Although since their arrival, there has been no fighting in the town, yet rice and other provisions cannot be had at all. There are many poor people and Pathâns in the town. The English fired a few guns [*two words lost*] near the Bound-hedge and our people fired a like number in return. This is what is taking place here.

*Thursday, July 24.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Dubois and M. Courtin coming there at half-past ten, M. Leyrit sent for me, and told me to send for Kapâla Kâlahasti Chetti, packer Tiruvôngadam's younger brother, Perumâl Mudali's son Kandappa Mudali, Vaidyanâtha Chetti and Chinna Kachiyappa Chetti—5 persons in all—so I told the Nayinâr to bring them. He brought them accordingly. Kapâla Kâlahasti Chetti said to M. Dubois that he could pay no more than 500 rupees. M. Dubois told him that he had

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<sup>1</sup> Dorez' letter cited above says :—"Loins d'améliorer notre situation, ils n'ont pas peu contribuer à la rendre moins gracieuse. Ses bazards tant vantés ne consistaient qu'en drogues plus propres à la destruction qu'à la conservation de nos corps. La consommation qu'ils faisaient de riz sortait des magasins de la ville. Que leur présence nous était à charge !"

<sup>2</sup> 13th *Âdi*, *Vikrama*.

already agreed to pay 1,000 rupees and, sending his younger brother to the dungeon, warned Kapâla Chetti that, if he did not agree to pay 1,000 rupees, he too would be shut up in the dungeon, and moreover tied up and beaten in the several streets. Thereon Kâlahasti Chetti agreed in writing to pay 800 rupees. Then M. Dubois said that packer Tiruvêngadam's younger brother had already agreed to pay 800 rupees, and that, if he would not agree to pay that sum, he would be shut up in the dungeon, bound and beaten. He also signed for 800 rupees. These two were then released, having agreed to pay the amount already settled. Then Perumâl Mudali's son Kandappa Mudali was asked why he had not paid the 360 rupees which he had agreed to, and then told that, if he failed to pay the amount, he would be treated similarly. Consequently this man also agreed to pay the amount. Then Vaidyanâtha Muttu Chetti and Chinna Kachiyappa Chetti were questioned, by means of *nâttâr* Arami Chetti whether they were taxed, and then they were released. As M. Courtin has been ordering the Nâyinar for the last two months to bring the Vellâlas, Mannappa Mudali and Kumarappa Mudali, he brought them accordingly to-day. M. Dubois said to them, 'I and M. Courtin hear that you have property worth about 10,000 rupees.

Statements have been taken to this effect. You will not be let off unless you pay 5,000 rupees, but put in the dungeon in fetters.' They replied, 'By money dealings with Europeans, we earn our daily bread, so we cannot pay. If you will send for those who have made such statements, and prove our worth, we will pay the amount to the Company and [answer the charge.]' [*Half a line lost.* ? M. Dubois replied], 'The time is such that argument is useless. You must give the money.' Then they were shut up in the dungeon in fetters." Irisappa Chetti, Muttu Chetti, [

] and two others were also shut up in the dungeon. Then [*lost*]Râo under Shaikh Dukki was sent for and questioned. He replied, 'I serve under him for a few rupees on which I subsist. If I did not get this sum, I should starve.' M. Dubois said that he would consider this man's case last, because he had taken large sums from the sepoys. Then Tillaiyambala Chetti Muttu Chetti was sent for and questioned. He replied, 'I have nothing because I lost everything in the [

] plunder. I have suffered much from my creditors, and have long been in custody. M. [*? Fontaine*] at the Beach got me released.' So saying he presented a petition to the Governor setting forth his case fully. The Governor questioned me about it, and I replied



that he had suffered from his creditors. Then he was released.

Lakshmana Pillai, who registers travellers, Vîrarâghava Pillai, Ammaiyappan and Kuttiyâ Pillai were then sent for and questioned. They replied, 'We serve the Company for a few fanams and we have no property.' As they stood wearing the Company's badge, I said they were very poor and worth nothing, so they were released.

Then M. Dubois took a Tamil letter from his pocket and gave it to the Nayinâr. It contained the names of Tândavarâyan (Kudaikkâra Perumâl's son), Sênaikkudai, Tândavarâyan and *nâttân* Tândavarâyan. The Nayinâr who was given the letter was ordered to bring these persons immediately. '[*A line lost*] already ordered [*a few words lost*]. Bring them.' At noon, M. Courtin and M. Dubois went home to dine.

M. Leyrit sent for me and told me to bring a list of all persons in the town. I replied that, when Appâvu had shown him a copy of the French list I have, he was told to give it to M. Gadevillo which had been done accordingly. M. Leyrit then said that he would get it from him and told me to go home. I came home at noon.

The troops that were encamped in the tamarind tope within the Bound-hedge on

the Ariyānkuppam road in the south, are now encamped northwards from Karukudikuppam to [lost] kôil. The camp provisions are within the Bound-hedge but the army is beyond it.

*Friday, July 25.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects to M. Leyrit who said that Gadeville had not got the list which I said yesterday I had given him, and that I should therefore make a copy in French and bring it to him. I said I would do so and then came home at eleven.

M. Courtin visiting the Fort at twelve wanted me, but was told that I was not there.

Pāpayya Pillai and his son were summoned by M. Leyrit and told that M. Lally had ordered him to give his two elephants to the Company, that money should be collected according to the list written already, and that, as he had given one elephant already to the Mysoreans, the other should be sent to M. Panon's house. The Governor also ordered that, as he had been unwell, he<sup>2</sup> might stay at home and tend his health, but that he was to arrange for the early collection of money, keeping at home, as though still in custody. He was then told to go home. On reaching

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<sup>1</sup> 14th Ādi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> The original is ambiguous, but Pāpayya Pillai seems intended.

home he sent word that, by my favour, he had returned home but that, besides the two elephants, 6,000 rupees were demanded, owing to his evil star ; the Bishop Padró who had arranged this affair was to be given a present of 1,000 rupees, and a note had been given for this 1,000 rupees and for the 5,000 rupees due from Râmalingan about the elephant business.

On the top of the *Gouvernement*, a flag-staff has been fixed to signal to the army, and a platform of planks built from which the Governor may watch the progress of the fighting. Four European troopers by the Valudâvûr ditch killed four sick horses with their pistols. One horse was given to a Pariah. Pariahs and Topasses cut up and carried off the four horses this evening, as rice cannot be had.

*Saturday, July 26.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning and waited there with those who had been taxed. As M. Courtin and M. Dubois had not come at noon, I came home.

M. l'Andrès went to and from M. Lally and M. Leyrit twice—I think about the money demanded by the Mysoreans. It was only after M. Lally demanded money from M. Leyrit yesterday that Mannappa Mudali and Kumarappa Mudali were ordered to be fettered.

and shut up in the dungeon. M. Leyrit ordered the Tamils to be summoned to make them prepare a list of the houses belonging to the Tamils and others ; but M. Lally said, 'We cannot get money from the Tamils in this emergency, because money was only collected from them before with great difficulty. We must therefore collect money from Europeans.' It must be about this business that l'Andrès went from M. Lally to M. Leyrit three or four times. M. Leyrit's sending to the mint his gold nut-stand and the gold rose-water sprinkler with its plate, weighing in all about 900 pagodas, confirms this. I think therefore that Europeans will certainly be made to pay. One or two officers also say the same, and this is the talk in M. Guillard's and the Europeans' houses. It remains to be seen what will happen.

At eight o'clock to-night, the German Hussars and 600 or 700 of the Mysore horse opened the town-gate and marched northwards. I hear that they are going with 700 guns to St. Thomas' Mount in order to bring back the 700 French prisoners guarded there by some sepoys.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> They were believed to be in a pagoda under the guard of only 50 sepoys (Lally's *Mémoire*, p. 181); and indeed in the previous March the Madras Council had written to Coote, "We have above 400 French prisoners to guard, and are obliged to keep them in a place very insecure and about a mile distant from the town." (*Military Consultations*, 15 March, 1760.) There had been rumours of an attempt at their rescue in April (*Idem*, 25 April, 1760) but Coote derided them (*Journal ap. Orme MSS., India*, viii, 1940). On the present occasion the rescue party went some 14 leagues and then turned off the coast-road to Gingee.

*Sunday, July 27.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning. M. Leyrit was in his room after hearing mass at six. There were no Europeans, not even M. Courtin or M. Dubois. I stayed at the Fort till eleven and then came home.

I then heard the following news:—Four King's men-of-war and three ships with prisoners—seven ships in all—took in water near the *Cap de Bonne Espérance*. A Danish ship also took in water. The seven ships set sail for Mauritius in order to accompany M. d'Aché's squadron there.<sup>2</sup> This reliable news is said to have been brought by the ship which brought the Governor of Tranquebar who has written it to M. Lally. I hear that it has been written that the ships are bringing five lakhs of rupees, 1,800 soldiers and a new Governor.<sup>3</sup>

M. Bazin's dubâsh, Savarirâyan, a mason, was imprisoned by M. Lally (on the ground that he had obtained money from the townspeople) until he should pay 10,000 rupees. I hear to-day that his affair has been settled for 500 rupees through the mediation of Padré Bishop Noronha.

I set out this evening to visit the Mysoreans' camp. M. Lally and Padré Bishop

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<sup>1</sup> 16th Âdi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Orme, ii, 693-694.

<sup>3</sup> Lally was about this time expecting his recall (Lally to Coote, 10 October, 1760, Orme MSS., India, viii, 2032).

Noronha, who had gone in a carriage to Makdhûm Nâyakkan's tent to confer with him, returned at half-past eight by the Madras Gate which was ordered to be opened. The title of Nâyak in the names Haidar Nâyakkan and Makdhûm Nâyakkan, is generally given to one who is the head of 10 foot. If the General is to court the favour of a man of this rank, it is but due to the times, as people say. So also say one or two European officers and gentlemen.

*Monday, July 28.*<sup>1</sup>—As M. Barthélemy is seriously ill, I visited him at his house this morning. M. Moracin was with Madame Barthélemy [*about three words lost*]. Topass Louche and others were also present. I told her about dubâsh Muttayyan's dues to me, about M. Barthélemy's taking this bond telling me that he would settle the matter with Sônâchalam and get the dues from him, and about his giving the bond to Topass Louche and the whole conversation. M. Barthélemy's wife said that there were writings of all this, but that nothing could be done at such a time.

[I continued], 'About the writing I gave promising 10,000 rupees as a present, the amount has been given, but the bond has not yet been returned to me, for he told M. Lally

before that 20,000 rupees were to be given [*half a line lost*]. Again in the 5,000 rupees affair, some money has been paid and there is only a small balance.'—'Well,' she said, 'there are accounts for these items. They will be examined and the bonds returned to you. He is now very ill, so this is not the time to speak to him. You may go.' Those who were present spoke to the same effect.

The conversation then continued about an hour, when M. Moracin said to me that he could not get good sheep and that, if I procured him two good ones, he would pay for them. M. Moracin, who, as Governor of Masulipatam, has enjoyed more than the Governor of this place, has not spoken to me for the last four years or seen my face; nor have I seen him either. Seeing this great man ask me to-day for two good sheep which he could not get himself, I thought that my good time had begun. I said therefore that I would supply him with them, and then, having taken leave of the several persons, I went to the Fort, where I met M. Nicolas who was formerly Governor of Kârikâl and who had returned after surrendering the fort to the English, on his way from M. Lally's house. He said, 'M. Lally tells me joyfully that, among the English ships near the coast, the captain's ship hoisted a round red flag at the main mast,

with a red, white and black flag on one side and a red flag on the other, that this is a signal for all the ships to sail together for action, so that our ships may be expected to-day or to-morrow, as the captains of the English ships doubtless showed these signals because they had received news, so that French ships will arrive shortly.'

Râmachandra Râo and a few others were present. I said, 'Kêtu' in opposition denotes good, so a flag-staff has been fixed at the old *Gouvernement* and a fine new flag hoisted. So in good times Kêtu will appear like a flag, and the town will prosper with its people; but last year during the bad time Kêtu was in the form of a gallows.' Thus we talked. No Europeans visited the Fort except M. La Grenée who went away after talking with M. Leyrit. I came home at eleven.

Bâla Jôsier and I were saying this afternoon that M. Barthélemy might be expected to die this morning during the domination of Pisces if calculated according to the Sun's rising, or at ten o'clock to-night if calculated from the month's beginning.

At seven o'clock to-night I heard that the Hussar horse and the German and Mysore horse who set out two nights ago for Madras in



order to rescue the prisoners at the Tiruvattiswaran temple, would return to-night with Pigot and 60 others who had been taken at play in a garden at Saidapet and with the 700 prisoners who set out yesterday. If Pigot's capture be true, surely the French will gain victories from to-day onwards, and the town will prosper. The countries will also prosper with the arrival of the ships.

Orders were given to-day to sell betel at the godown at five leaves a cash.

*Tuesday, July 29.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Moracin's head-peon came and reported to me this morning that M. Barthélemy had breathed his last about an hour after sunrise this morning. On my way I met M. Moracin, who said that, as nobody else was available, I should send for the proper persons and have everything ready. I agreed and sent Muchiyars for coarse blue-cloth from my house and elsewhere. I also arranged to have a mask of the face prepared. Then I went to Madame Barthélemy and condoled with her, her daughter and M. Barthélemy's nephew on M. Barthélemy's death. Madame Barthélemy's face showed no signs of grief at her husband's death; on the contrary, she looked more joyous than she has been doing; but her daughter and the nephew

looked sorrowful. When I told M. Moracin twice or thrice at ten o'clock that I must go, he desired me to wait. But I came home at ten o'clock telling him that M. Leyrit had sent for me.

M. Leyrit sent for me at eleven o'clock. When I went, he asked me about the house-tax, a list of which he had told me to make. I gave him the writing. He read it and said, 'What can I do with this? The value of each house must be mentioned.' I replied, 'A maistri mason and a writer would take six months to make such a list, and even if they made haste, they would take at least three months. But all this will not bring money for the present need.'—'What is to be done then?' he asked. I replied, 'You *dorais* must suggest, not I. You tell me to write the value of the several houses, but who will buy them at any price? Money has been collected already from the rich Chetti merchants in the town. Some have paid their tax by selling their houses and some have gone away. You have their houses. Those who remain here are but coolies and scavengers who complain that their pay is 20 or 30 months in arrears. It is no use therefore to value the houses.'—'In that case,' he replied, 'you must fix a price for them.'—'I cannot do that,' I answered, 'you had better do it yourself.'

M. Moracin observed, 'M. Lally received from me a list I had prepared of the houses. It is with M. Leyrit. Take it, examine it and come to me to-morrow morning, ready to suggest a certain figure.' I agreed, and taking leave, came home.

At half-past five this evening, I heard the following news : —When M. Lally was lamenting M. Barthélemy's death,<sup>1</sup> he was told that Mr. Pigot, four or five councillors, and 300 soldiers had been captured and brought from Sadras to Potti Pattan's Choultry this side of it. He was overjoyed at this, and went home soon after the corpse had been carried out. When the corpse was passing by the Fort, M. Leyrit heard that M. Lally had received news of the capture of Pigot, four or five councillors, three or four writers, and 300 soldiers, and of their arrival at Potti Pattan's Choultry by Âlambarai, and, rejoicing at this news, followed the corpse, talking cheerfully on the way, till the corpse was buried. When the corpse was on the way, minute guns were fired and the flag was hoisted half-mast at the Fort. On entering the church, three volleys were fired and five guns.

*Wednesday, July 30.*<sup>2</sup>—There was nothing important doing at the Fort when I went there

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<sup>1</sup> 'Attending M. Barthélemy's funeral,' seems intended.

<sup>2</sup> 19th Âdi, Vikrama.

this morning, so I returned home at eleven. Pigot's arrival at this place and that, had to-day proved false.

*Thursday, July 31.*<sup>1</sup>—No Europeans were at the Fort this morning when I went there nor was there any talk about the tax affair. I came home at half-past eleven, and I have heard no important news since.

Twenty-one guns were fired (I do not know why) this morning at Devanâmpattanam and once at Lakshmana Nâyakkan's Choultry and at Villiyanallûr where the English are encamped. In the last two or three days the beggarly Mysore troops have carried off the 24 pieces of red-wood used for the pandal in front of my Tiruvêngadapuram *agrahâram* choultry and the red-wood pillars, rafters, big reapers, doors etc., of the Brâhmans' houses, and sold them. This charity was founded by my father 50 years ago. I obtained letters from M. Loyrit about it ; I appointed amal-dârs ; and now the very materials have been carried off. It did not suffer during the English troubles, or Nâsîr Jang's, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's, Raghôji Bhônsla's, Fatteh Singh's and the Marathas' invasions : but now all places surrounding the town, as far as Kûnimêdu and Mâtâtûr have been plundered and

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<sup>1</sup> 20th Âdi, Vikrama.

the houses destroyed. The greatness of this charity was famous from Benares and Delhi to Cape Comorin. The beauty and greatness of the choultry and *agrahâram* have never been surpassed by other charities. I valued nothing else so much except my wife Mangathâyi who is no more ; even her death did not trouble or grieve me so greatly. For five years from *Yuva*,<sup>1</sup> I have suffered many misfortunes and lost up to 20 lakhs of rupees, but all these have not pained me so much as what has now happened to my charity. I cannot therefore describe my sorrow.

Since fuel was lacking for camp use, M. La Grenéo was threatened with hanging or imprisonment ; his sword was seized and soldiers were dragging him along when I interceded, spoke kind words, and said that I would supply fuel. Then alone was he released. This is the treatment accorded to a councillor, and the respect shown to M. Leyrit, the Governor, is well-known.

The Nayinâr was ordered to be shut up in the dungeon when it was reported that the *pakkalis* had not supplied water because they had not received their pay, and he has been shut up accordingly.

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M. Leyrit, M. Courtin and M. Dubois sent for me this afternoon. When I went, they asked if, as ordered, I had prepared a list of the house-tax. I said I had, and that I would bring it to-morrow morning. As I was departing, M. Moracin called me back and asked for five corgo of coarse blue cloth. I replied I would enquire and inform him, and so came away.

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## AUGUST 1760.

*Friday, August 1.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, and gave M. Leyrit the list I had prepared, explaining the details, and adding that the tax on huts had been included in that on houses. He read the list and, keeping it, asked what should be done. I replied, 'The town is empty. Formerly there were about 1,000 bazaars, but now owing to the persecution of the Choultry-writers, there are only 10 or 15—so few men are left. In M. Lenoir's time, the list of inhabitants amounted to 50,000 and in M. Dupleix' time, to 22,000; but, when a census was taken two months ago, the number was only 3,000 and odd. Thus many have left the town. Moreover owing to the seizure of grain in the town, every one sold his paddy as he pleased. Even the small quantity that is left cannot be secured, and a fanam will get only one-eighth of a markal. Those who have four days' supply of paddy keep enough for two days and sell the rest for the high price it fetches. Not a measure of grain comes in from outside. Those who have any will depart when it is exhausted. For the last

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<sup>1</sup> 21st Ādi, Vikrama.

two days, poor people have been actually starving owing to the lack of provisions. Such is the state of the town which will further decline if this tax is imposed, and those who still remain will go away, and what will then be left?' M. Leyrit replied, 'Why mince matters? If people desert the town, we also will sail away. That is my resolve.' I continued, 'Though a hundred Lallys came, yet they can do nothing. You are the Governor and all glory is yours. So you should be kind towards the people, and so manage affairs this next fortnight that they will remain here.'—'You are right,' M. Leyrit answered; 'the town is almost uninhabited. Shall we collect half in August and half in September, and shall I give the list to M. Courtin and order him to collect the amount?' I answered, 'He is too severe to have charge of the matter. You had better keep the list, send for the Nayinâr and the Choultry-writers, order them to collect the money, and see that they render accounts to you of the amount collected.' He agreed.

He then said, 'Ninety years ago a Lieutenant-General came with 14 ships and so behaved as to capture Pondichery and Mylapore and defeat the English and the Dutch, but afterwards the English and the Dutch took him prisoner, made him sign [a capitulation], and captured all those with him. He then sailed



for Europe on a Dutch ship<sup>1</sup>. M. Lally will do the same, and he too will sign and depart.' I replied, 'The former man managed affairs with success till he departed a prisoner. M. Lally who has 4,000 soldiers, 5,000 or 6,000 sepoy and 1,000 horse, is within the Bounds, and will do likewise.' He continued, 'The Mysoreans whom he has summoned will only plunder and ruin the town, not achieve success in battle. I hear that the Mysoreans have seized your Choultry founded by your father fifty years ago. All this is due to M. Lally. He has profited by two pieces of business. One was with M. Barthélemy for 20,000 rupees, and the other the cloth affair. Now that M. Barthélemy is dead, M. Lally will take advantage of this, and he will profit also in the cloth affair.' Thus we conversed for about an hour. It is five years since M. Leyrit came here as Governor, and all these years he has never talked to me so freely. Our prolonged conversation to-day is a sign of prosperity for the French and for me.

He then sent for M. Dubois and M. Courtin. They came at half-past eleven and he showed them the list. They looked at it, and M. Dubois

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<sup>1</sup> Leyrit refers to the expedition of de La Haye, 1671-1674. Cf. Kaepelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, pp. 79 etc. The English were not involved in the struggle.

took it away saying he would show it to M. Lally. M. Courtin also went away.

Two master-gunners then came to report the arrival of prisoners from Madras which they left on the 27th,<sup>1</sup> so I stood aside.

M. Leyrit then said, 'M. Dubois has taken the tax-paper you have written to show to M. Lally. I want one, so have a copy made and bring it.' I agreed and came home at half-past twelve.

The Nayinâr who was shut up in the dungeon yesterday was released to-day at the intercession of Padré Bishop Lorenço<sup>2</sup> on a written agreement to pay wages and allowance for the eight *pakkalis* and to see that the *pakkalis* supplied water. It is about this business he was put in custody yesterday.

I drove out this evening to the Mysore army. M. Lally and the Bishop Padré Lorenço also went to the Mysore camp, and the former talked with Makdhûm Sâhib in his tent (while the latter remained outside) about sending out horse to plunder Chennamanâyakkanpâlayam, Tiruppâppuliyûr, Cuddalore and Chidambaram, etc. places to the southwards. As I

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<sup>1</sup> I think they must have evaded their guards and escaped. The rescue-party never got near Madras, and I do not think any exchange was proceeding at this time. The date of their leaving Madras is probably 27th *Ani*, i.e., July 7.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 208 n. *supra*.

drove by, he<sup>1</sup> called me by name and said, 'I have greatly helped the Tamils. Before M. Dubois showed M. Lally a list of taxes, I explained to the latter that a list was being prepared of the tax to be collected from the Tamils who could not pay it. On seeing the list, he said before 50 Europeans, "M. Leyrit and the councillors are thieves who have stolen and misappropriated the Company's money; but I will recover it all from them to-morrow." He called them dogs and devils, blaming them severely. He added, "I never meant the tax to be collected from the poor Tamils but from Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai. M. Leyrit does these things in my name in order to discredit me. I will question him about this. I wanted this tax to be collected from Europeans only, not from the Tamils." He spoke thus with great anger, adding that the whole town was on his head.' I replied, 'True; it was you that brought the Mysore army here, and all affairs are conducted in your presence. Who can do like you or give such help to the Tamils?' With these words, I came home.

*Saturday, August 2.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Leyrit was returning from church after hearing mass. I paid my respects

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., the Bishop.

<sup>2</sup> 22nd Âdi, Vikramā.

to him with a bouquet which he took gladly asking, 'Did you make this bouquet?'

I then said, 'I have bought some of the materials which the Mysoreans carried off from my Choultry, but the cart containing them is not allowed to pass the gate. Be pleased, therefore, to give a pass.' He gave a gate pass accordingly. I then said, 'I have delayed the removal of some of the materials from my *agrahâram*. Be pleased to give an order for chelingas to bring them in.' He called Râmachandra Râo and said, 'Give him the two or three chelingas that he needs and see that the timbers are brought in.' M. La Grenée then came and asked what we were discussing. M. Leyrit said, 'Ranga Pillai says that the Mysoreans have carried off the materials of the Choultry built by his father Tiruvêngada Pillai.' M. La Grenée observed, 'When M. Lally went to the Mysoreans' camp yesterday, he said that all the gardens but Ranga Pillai's and even the roads should be stripped bare.'

The councillors arrived for the council to be held, so all went into the council hall. I came home at a quarter to eleven.

Yesterday and to-day M. Leyrit has spoken kindly to me, but I must wait and see.

At half-past four this evening one of the Mysore sepoys beat some dubâshes' servants

at the Madras gate, so the latter complained to the officer on guard there, who sent four soldiers to seize and bring the sepoy. But when they tried to seize him, another sepoy who was with him drew his sword. The soldiers then levelled their guns, on which the sepoy who had drawn his sword made off, and the sepoy who had beaten the servants was brought in. When the officer asked him why he had beaten them, he called him, 'An ass of a *Firangi bahinchût*' and gave him four severe blows with the stick in his hand, whereon the sepoy was sent to M. Lally escorted by four musketeers, with Europeans and Topasses. Thus the Mysoreans, and even the Pariahs among them, treat French officers and people of the government more like dogs than men; this is the result of M. Lally's seeking the assistance of the Mysoreans, who value the French as naught.

I hear that the council to-day considered the collection of the house-tax and other matters.

I also hear that 30,000 Kantri pagodas<sup>1</sup> have been brought from Tyâgadrug by 60 horse for the expenses of the Mysore army.

I hear that one of Râmalinga Pillai's men with the army, has been hanged on a gallows by the Mudaliyâr's church near Reddipâlaiyam

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<sup>1</sup> The Mysore coin. Cf. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, vol. i, pp. 31-32.

for the offence of distributing short allowances of liquor to the European troops.

*Sunday, August 3.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects to M. Leyrit with a bouquet, which he accepted, and, returning my compliments joyfully, said that I was very devoted to him. ‘Oh ! my Lord,’ I replied, ‘I have always been devoted to you, but my ill-fortune made you believe otherwise. He thanked me graciously.

Then I showed him the writing which had been prepared to allow the materials and goods at my *agrahâram* to be brought in without hindrance. He read it and said, ‘M. Lally gave orders yesterday allowing wooden materials, etc., to be brought in ; but you had better have this as well.’ So saying he took me in, signed the writing and gave it me.

He then said, ‘Bring the chief of the *mahânâtârs* to-morrow about the house-tax.’ I agreed.

He then asked if 30,000 Kantri pagodas had been received on account of the expenses of the Mysore troops.<sup>2</sup> I replied that I had heard so.

He then asked if Pigot had really been seized and brought from Madras. I replied

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<sup>1</sup> 23rd *Âdi*, *Vikrama*.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the sum was in payment of provisions issued to the Mysoreans. See p. 243 n. 1 *supra*.

that I had not heard so, but that some prisoners had been captured and taken to Gingee two or three days ago. He said that there must be something more important.

He then asked the other news. I replied, 'What is there to be said? You know the state of the town too well, for you alone are responsible, though there are ten thousand others. The duty therefore of protecting the people at this time is yours.' When we were conversing thus, two or three Europeans came, so I paid my respects and took leave.

On my way I met Râmachandra Râo, Bâpu Râo and Kandappa Mudali who were returning from M. Dubois' house. They said, 'About the sepoys' affair, the names of eight Chettis and others have been written instead of the old ones, but omitting your name. We read it and pointed it out to M. Dubois who also read it and said that it was true, and ordered us to go to the Fort, saying that he would have the list completely written and then go to the Fort.' I replied, 'I do not need your favour, and I know who have written the names. As the European has said that eight names have been written omitting one, he is not to blame, but my name may be included when details for each of the eight are written.' Then I came home. They were waiting as M. Dubois had told them that he would come to

the Fort and get the signatures. I shall write more when I hear what M. Dubois does at the Fort.

As M. Lally had promised to pardon M. Berthelin (who had been [sentenced] to be hanged) provided he paid 25,000 rupees, M. Dulaurens' and M. Le Beaume's wives have been going about the town begging for the money. Silver plate, etc., weighing 160 marcs were given by those in the European quarter. They then went to the Tamils' houses and begged that each would give five or ten rupees. I gave them eight Pondichery crescent pagodas when they came to my house.

*Monday, August 4.*<sup>1</sup>—When I was starting for the Fort this morning, I was told that Madame Barthélemy wanted me. On my arrival, she said that she wanted coarse blue cloth for the obsequies.<sup>2</sup> I said I would give the cloth in my house, and added, 'You have asked the Choultry monigars for cloth. Take what they give, and, if more be required, this merchant will supply you.' So saying, I called Tailappa Chetti and told him.

When I was about to leave for the Fort, a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me, and that the Nayinâr and *muhânâttârs* also had been sent for. The Nayinâr was

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<sup>1</sup> 24th *Âdi*, *Vikrama*.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose to hang the church with for a commemorative mass.



already at the Fort when I arrived. M. Courtin and M. Dubois, who had been summoned, only arrived at ten o'clock and a quarter to twelve respectively. M. Leyrit sent for me and said, 'It is already late to-day, so tell the *mahânâttârs* to come to-morrow at nine.' He looked as pale as death and spoke angrily. This is because M. Lally is calling him a thief, a robber and other names, as people have informed me. I then came home at noon, telling the Nayinâr and the *mahânâttârs* to come at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, warning them at the same time that those who failed to come would be fined 24 pagodas.

This evening the *mahânâttârs* came and reported the following news to me :—'We presented a petition to M. Lally about the affair of the house-tax. He read it and said that the tax would not be collected from us, that he would get the tax-paper to-morrow and tear it up, that we need not be anxious about it, and that he could not understand why we had not informed him, since he had already written that, if M. Leyrit or others committed any injustice, he should be informed of it. We replied that, as M. Leyrit was the Company's man and Governor of the town, we obeyed him ; but that we could not continue to do so hereafter, because we were

helpless not having even *conjee* to drink, and that therefore we had complained to him. Thereupon M. Lally told us to go saying that we need not pay the tax and that he would tear the tax-paper to pieces.'

When Rāmalinga Pillai's people went and destroyed the garden of M. Bury's son, he complained to M. Panon and had them imprisoned ; consequently Rāmalinga Pillai represented the matter to M. Lally, who, I hear, at eleven o'clock ordered M. Bury's son to be kept in custody at the Fort.

Two or three travellers from Negapatam to Pulicat reported to me that three or six English ships had arrived from Europe at Cuddalore with 2,000 or 1,500 soldiers on board, after touching at Bombay, that the soldiers and officers who landed, had been lodged in Irisappa Chetti's and other Tamils' houses at Cuddalore and that the sepoys there had been sent out to the Bounds. They added that they had seen this. I think that the number of the soldiers must be 500 or 600 at least<sup>1</sup>.

*Tuesday, August 5.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort at half-past eight this morning. M. Dubois arrived about that time, and M. Courtin at nine. They called me and told me to send

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<sup>1</sup> Ranga Pillai's guess this time was very close. See Orme, ii, 651.

<sup>2</sup> 25th Ādi, Vikrama.

for the *mahânâttârs*; and, on their arrival, took out the list of the house-tax, and said, 'You had better apportion the tax among the several castes at the rate of 15 rupees for each brick-built house and six rupees and a half for each thatched one.' The *mahânâttârs* replied, 'We cannot pay anything and nothing can be had in the town. For the last six months, no grain has come in from outside.' Kanakasabhai Mudali said, 'When formerly I was assessed at 1,000 rupees, you said that I might collect it from my relations. With the greatest difficulty, I was only able to pay 300 rupees by borrowing it from others. Moreover about a half or three-quarters of the inhabitants have gone away, and those who remain will also go as they cannot get anything here. Who can therefore pay this tax?' They replied, 'You must not say that, but continue to pay it. If ships arrive in a week, you need not pay anything; otherwise you should pay half this month and the other half next.' The *mahânâttârs* then had their say, but on being told that the amount must be paid, they presented their petition addressed to M. Leyrit who received and read it aloud for all to hear. It says, 'When, during famine in M. Lenoir's time the towns-people could get no food and suffered greatly, he protected the inhabitants even as the eye-lid

protects the eye, by procuring grain from outside, besides remitting the tax on the nine kinds of grain, the tax of 4,000 pagodas levied for building the walls in M. Beauvoilier's time, and the 1,000 pagodas on account of the shroffs' shops. Thus he protected the people in time of need like an eye-lid. In his time alone the town deserved the name and the prosperity which it then attained continued till now, enabling it to bear the taxes imposed on it three or four times. But now it can bear no more taxes.' Thus the petition spoke at length of M. Lenoir's pains to protect the people. M. Courtin said, 'That's true, for I have heard people who were in the Government talk about it. The present man would fain do ten times more good, but your ill-fortune and the evil times cause what is going on now. The writer of this petition must be a clever man and an eye-witness of what took place in the country. Who is he?' M. Dubois after examining the two writings said that he who had fixed the amount of tax must have written this petition also. I remained silent. Then they came back to the matter of collecting the money. The *mahânâttârs* said, 'Yesterday when we talked with M. Lally about this matter, he said that we need not pay this tax.' M. Dubois said to M. Leyrit, 'The Tamils have already paid three or four

times, and they cannot pay anything more. The Europeans should be asked to pay. M. Lally grew angry with M. La Grenée whom he sent for, and asked why he had not got in the list of the tax to be collected from Europeans, according to his orders. So I know that he wishes to collect money from the Europeans and not from the Tamils.' On this M. Leyrit desired M. Dubois to see M. Lally about the tax collection. But he signed the list of the house-tax, sent for the Nayinâr and the Choultry-writers and gave it to them, telling them to make out a list in Tamil and collect the tax accordingly. Thus he sent them to the Choultry.

Then M. Dubois brought a writing about the sepoys' affair. It contained particulars of eight persons at the rate of four for one. He read it, and I, having listened, said, 'Only five names have been mentioned—Alagiya-manavâla Chetti, Ponnappa Chetti and others. They won't pay for they have paid already, and they are departing on account of their business, for they only deal with people outside who, knowing that these debtors of theirs have been compelled to pay heavy taxes, now press them to discharge their debts, which they cannot do. Therefore as they have been told that, as many [others] have paid 1,000 or 2,000 when unjustly demanded,

they too will be forced to pay 10,000 or 20,000, they are departing.' M. Courtin said, 'Even the merchants in Bengal who live like Mahârâjâs and deal in lakhs at a time, in times of their trouble, will be presented with accounts for two or three lakhs by their creditors and worried to pay their debts. That is the nature of merchants in money dealings.' Thus he explained the situation. M. Leyrit then said, 'Eight names have been mentioned. What is his<sup>1</sup> share?' M. Dubois said that it would be but just to include his name. So M. Leyrit wrote it, and, having signed the paper, gave it me. I received it and came home.

When the *mahânâttârs* went to M. Lally, he said, 'I ordered yesterday that you need not pay. Why have you come? You may go.' They replied, '[*A few words lost*]. M. Leyrit, M. Dubois and M. Courtin sent for us and delivered us into the Nayinâr's hands to-day. The Choultry-writers were also sent for and told to collect the tax from us, and we were then sent to the Choultry.' Thereon he<sup>2</sup> sent for M. Courtin, but, seeing M. Dubois coming, he spoke very angrily to him, until M. Courtin came, and then M. Lally gave vent to his anger for about an hour, and talked so loud as to shake the building.

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<sup>1</sup> Who is meant does not appear.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., Lally.

M. Dubois and M. Courtin went away pale and dejected. M. Lally stayed in his room. They (the *mahânâttârs*) having no opportunity of seeing him afterwards, asked his dubâsh who said, 'You have been exempted from paying the tax. You may go.' They then went to M. Courtin who asked what they wanted. They replied, 'We explained our case to M. Lally about the tax and he said that he would speak to you.' The *mahânâttârs* afterwards came to me and said that M. Courtin had dismissed them and that therefore they had come away. M. Leyrit went to M. Lally's this evening, with M. Courtin. The Choultry-writers were sent for, and went after informing me. M. Leyrit and the councillors [*lost*]. I think that [*lost*] about [*lost*]. I shall enquire and write to-morrow.

Makdhûm Nâyakkan of Mysore came and said, 'We have no food to eat and none can we buy. How can we therefore manage this business? We will go and halt at Gingee or Villupuram and those parts. Give us orders to fight, or give us rice at the rate of one *pakka* measure *per* head and horse-gram for the horses. Then alone can we remain, otherwise we must depart.' Orders have been therefore given that rice may be carried out of the town to the army without hindrance at the gates, and the original order prohibiting the removal

of even one measure of rice from the town has been cancelled. I hear that an evasive reply has been given regarding the other demands.

Alagappa Mudali, the Choultry monigar, did not report to M. Courtin the men whom he had put in custody at the Choultry yesterday for selling rice at three-quarters of a measure *per* fanam, because they were his people; but somebody else reported it to M. Courtin to-day, so he sent for Alagappa Mudali and demanded why he had not reported the sale of rice. He replied that the sellers had been kept at the Choultry and that he thought he might report the matter on his coming to the Choultry-court, but M. Courtin ordered him to be kept in custody for not having reported the matter yesterday.

The Choultry-writer sent for the merchants to-day and asked them for 9-*kāl* long-cloth and Salampores, bleached or unbleached. The merchants saying that they had none, were asked to sign a paper to that effect.

At three o'clock this morning, Tirumalai Pillai (my paternal uncle, Venkata Pillai's eldest son), breathed his last at the age of 65. Two daughters survive, but one son has died, leaving one still living.

*Wednesday, August 6.*<sup>1</sup>—Tirumalai Pillai having died last night, his corpse was carried

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<sup>1</sup> 26th *Ādi*, *Vikrama*.



to the burning-ground at ten o'clock this morning and burnt. I returned, bathed and stayed at home.

Although M. Lally told M. Loyrit yesterday that the house-tax was not to be collected from the Tamils, yet M. Dubois sent for the Nayinâr and the Choultry-writers to-day, and told them that they should now collect 6,000 rupees. Then he sent for the *mahânâttârs* and asked them for the amount. They said they could give nothing. I hear that they have been sent away after some discussion.

I heard to-day that [three or four pieces] of Salampores had been got from certain houses.

When the Nayinâr was in his house at two o'clock this afternoon, two of M. Lally's European guards and a chobdar came and carried him away with his hands tied behind, because the *pakkalis* had run away instead of supplying water to the camp although he had been charged with distributing their pay. I hear that he has been shut up in the dungeon.

As Râmalingan had promised to give something to M. Lally, he was sent for and questioned to-day ; but as he replied vaguely, he was twice kicked and threatened with being hanged. He returned home much dejected, and then reported the matter to M. Dubois. It is not known what M. Dubois said to him,

but afterwards Râmalingan anxiously returned home. I have heard all this from Râmalingan's man who was present at the conversation, so the news must be true.

There was an interview to-day between Makdhûm Nâyakkan from Mysore and M. Lally. Makdhûm Nâyakkan said, 'We cannot get anything here. The two months' time mentioned in the agreement has expired. Please therefore pay the two lakhs of rupees.' M. Lally replied that he would pay him on the arrival of ships in 10 or 15 days. Makdhûm Nâyakkan replied, 'Why do you expect the ships, seeing that they have not arrived so far, and when are you going to pay me? I have brought a lakh of rupees and disbursed the pay. How can we live when things cannot be had for money?' When he thus expressed his inclination to depart, M. Lally replied, 'What did you achieve when I despatched you to Madras? Your people made about two or three lakhs [by plunder] round Madras, Conjeevaram, etc. If you had not come, could you have got so much plunder?' Makdhûm Nâyakkan answered, 'How have I benefited by their plunder? Besides they receive pay from me.' Although so much has been said, yet no decision has been reached; but I hear that Mysore Makdhûm Nâyakkan intends to depart to-morrow. Let us see what happens.

*Thursday, August 7.*<sup>1</sup>—The Nayinâr was released to-day. I hear that as M. Leyrit, the Governor, patrolled the ramparts last night, he slept till half-past ten, and he came out when his door was opened at eleven.

I hear that M. Lally has pacified Makdhûm Nâyakkan by saying that the Europeans have been assessed to a tax of six or seven lakhs of rupees, which they will pay in a week, when the Mysoreans can be paid, our own expenses met and provisions supplied. Thus saying he showed him the list of the assessment on the Europeans and came to terms with him.

[*A few words lost*]. The Topass with M. Dubois came and said, '[*A few words lost*] says you have the paper signed by M. Leyrit, about distributing among 4 persons the tax for the sepoy's till now levied on one. A list has to be written showing each sepoy's share separately.' I had a list written by him accordingly and said, 'I will also write to-morrow the names to be entered instead of mine. As for the list now written apportioning the tax among four names, the amount should be reckoned and recovered with effect from August 1. The pay in arrears for one month or 15 days should not be required

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<sup>1</sup> 27th Âdi, Vikrama.

[of us], for the Company's sepoy's have not been paid for ten or twenty months. Where is the hurry about these people? and what consideration will be shown to those who have paid ready money? The amount should therefore be remitted.' He went away saying that he would do accordingly.

I hear that our people who were encamped near the Nâyaka tank, retreated to Reddi-pâlaiyam and the Olukarai church on the appearance of the English horse.

I hear that the English are raising batteries near Ulandai tank and that many have been leaving the town for the last two or three days owing to the scarcity of supplies.

I also hear that Makdhûm Nâyakkan of Mysore has been supplied with a garse of rice.

I heard that, when the *mahânâtâtars* were summoned to-day and offered an agreement signed by M. Lally promising that they should not be further troubled, if they paid 6,000 rupees to-day or to-morrow, they replied they could not pay anything.

*Friday, August 8.*<sup>1</sup>—As M. Leyrit, M. Lally and others went to the church to-day to the office for M. Barthélemy, I did not visit M. Leyrit at the Fort. I went out at half-past nine or ten and on my way I met M. Leyrit

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<sup>1</sup> 28th *Âdi*, *Vikrama*.

returning from M. Barthélemy's house, after attending service. I paid my respects to him, accompanied him to the Fort and waited upstairs at the *Gouvernement*, but M. Leyrit went into his room, and did not come out. While I was there, two or three Europeans came and said that M. Lally had strictly warned M. Leyrit, the councillors and other Europeans—19 persons in all—that four lakhs of rupees must be paid in three days. I came home at eleven.

I then heard that M. Dubois had sent for the *mahânâttârs* and told them that as they had been excused from paying the house-tax, they must pay 6,000 rupees on pain of being tied up and beaten and losing their ears.

When I drove out this evening, I saw about 300 or 400 English horse at Kâttumêttu. On their appearance, about 300 or 400 Mysore horse marched out about six o'clock, so the English troopers fired two or three guns. The Mysore troopers fired the same number in reply. Afterwards the English horse retired while the Mysore horse halted. I do not know what happened afterwards. After watching this, I returned home.

Chobdar Muhammad Husain came to me at seven o'clock and said that he had been sent by M. Lally Sâhib to inform me that I had assessed men in addition to the nine who

had been assessed on account of the sepoys' pay, that I should not have done so, and that I myself must find money for one month only but not more. I sent the chobdar away with a note containing the names of Chinna Mudali, Appu Mudali, Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai, Pâpayya Pillai, Bâli Chetti, and Râmachandra Râo—eight persons in all—and instructing him to tell them what M. Lally had said.

I do not know what will happen to the thirty persons who signed the tax for the sepoys; they are now drowned in joy for the remission of the tax without knowing what the consequences will be.

Three hundred or 400 foot of the Mysore army having no provisions have run away abandoning their muskets. Many are going because they cannot get food for any money.

I heard the following news to-day :—When a Dutch boat sailing from Pulicat to Negapatam passed through the roads last night, our ship's captain who stopped and examined her, found a packet of letters, and on opening it, he found a gazette or diary with parallel columns in English and French. This gazette was taken to M. Lally's house at four o'clock and read by all till seven. It contained news of the war between the English and French in

Europe, and of other matters and I write below what I have heard.

As the English were getting the worst of the fighting, they thought that they could not hold out, and sought peace, but the French would not agree. In times of war in Europe a fanam is collected from each man ; but now two fanams are being collected. M. Silhouette, the Controller-General of Finance, in order to provide the King with money, has collected twice the amount that was collected before from the inhabitants ; if two persons live in the same house, each is compelled to pay ; and thus the people are pressed to pay. The gazette also contains a glowing account of M. Bussy. The captain of the frigate, the *Baleine*, who came to-night, reported all this, adding that the gazette also says that about 60 men-of-war had left Brest, a port in France, for an unknown destination.

*Saturday, August 9.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. M. Leyrit was in his room with closed doors, so I sauntered up and down the hall. M. Guillard who then came, said, 'What, Rangappa ! I have not seen you lately.' I explained that my paternal uncle's son had died. I then enquired after his health. He replied that he was better

now, although he had suffered from dysentery and cramp in the leg. He then asked what the *Shâstras* predicted. I replied, 'The *Shâstras* say that there will be great troubles which will be followed by calm after the arrival of ships. A clever *Valluvan*<sup>1</sup> astrologer at Kârikâl has sent word that ships will arrive between the 4th and 12th *Āvani*.<sup>2</sup> The *Valluvan* at Negapatam predicted four months ago that ships would arrive in *Āvani*.' M. Guillard said, 'The town will prosper only if ships arrive in *Āvani*, otherwise the English will capture it,—one or the other.' I replied, 'Ships will arrive by the 12th *Āvani*; the English will withdraw after the 20th; and they will be overthrown in the month of *Tai*.<sup>3</sup>' He said that we must wait till the 30th *Āvani*<sup>4</sup> for the ships' arrival. I continued, 'Nothing is to be had in the town. After you remitted the tax, sufficient grain has come in till now; but, in future, that will not be enough. When towns are besieged, men are sent with money to places where provisions can be had, and provisions and help are sent out to camp, and the enemy defeated. This has always been done, but, if no such steps are taken now, how

<sup>1</sup> See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, vii, pp. 303-310.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, between August 16 and 24.

<sup>3</sup> January-February [1761].

<sup>4</sup> September 11.



can affairs prosper?' M. Guillard replied, 'M. Leyrit is obstinately mad, and M. Lally is heedless of the world. Hence these troubles.'—'Do not say that,' I answered, 'but explain matters.'—'Well, I will do so at a suitable time,' he answered. I said I would also speak to M. Leyrit and we talked thus over several matters. M. Guillard then went in to see M. Leyrit, but, finding him busily writing letters with closed doors, he went home.

When M. Leyrit came out afterwards, I paid my respects to him and said, 'M. Lally sent word to me at seven o'clock last night by chobdar Muhammad Husain that in the sepoys' affair the persons whose names I had added, were not to be asked to pay, and that if I paid money for a month more as hitherto, I should not be troubled any further. So I sent word about it to the several persons by the chobdar.' M. Leyrit said, 'M. Lally is a liar who cares nothing for truth or his promises, and changes his mind twenty times a day.' Thus spoke M. Leyrit the truthful. I replied, 'Nothing can be had in the town, which is in a miserable state, from which it can only recover with the greatest difficulty. It is therefore your duty to protect its inhabitants now. Nobody will blame M. Lally or M. Soupire or the lakhs of other men for the present wretched state of the town but you

because you are Governor. I tell you this because I wish you to win glory and because I have dwelt in this town under the French flag for the last 50 years earning a name which has spread as far as Delhi ; I got too a mansab jaghir, and my name is known even in Europe. One who lives under the shelter of a tree must desire its prosperity. Hence you should now strain every effort to establish such measures, as will protect the people, as thus only they will be saved and the town endure, and otherwise it will be overwhelmed.' He agreed and said that he had resolved to do so. M. La Gronée and two or three others then came to speak with M. Leyrit, so I went aside.

Kandappa Mudali, Appu Mudali, Râmachandra Râo, Bâpu Râo, and Savarirâya Pillai came to me and said, ' We went and spoke to M. Dubois<sup>1</sup> and he replied, " In futuro, I have nothing to do with the business. I have tried my best to help you and can do no more. You had better go to M. Gadeville, for it is he who has made M. Lally change his mind by telling him that nine persons should provide the sepoys' pay and that those whose names have been written anew may be asked to pay

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<sup>1</sup> Sc. about the sepoys' pay.

off the old sepoys who are clamouring for their arrears." We are going to speak to M. Leyrit about this.' So saying they desired me to go with them. I replied that I had spoken to him already about this matter. 'Don't refuse,' they answered; 'you must come too.' I therefore consented to go. Kandappa Mudali reported the whole to M. Leyrit in the presence of M. Lenoir. M. Leyrit hearing it, said that he would settle the sepoys' pay with M. Dubois and that he would also speak to M. Lally. I said, 'The troubles that the sepoys cause are endless, for they close the street doors and prevent people from going in and out, so that even cooking is hindered. Because you treat me with respect, others do the same, but these small people are causing immense trouble.' M. Leyrit replied that he would give orders to prevent such things happening again. I then told Râmachandra Râo to mention the sepoys' troubles in the petition to the Council, and, giving it to him, I came home at eleven.

Kandappa Mudali said to M. Leyrit and M. Lenoir in my presence, 'Râmalinga Pillai, Ayyan Sâstri and the Mysore vakîl told M. Lally yesterday that Periyanna Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai, Kandappa Mudali, Râmachandra Râo and Appu Mudali had large sums of money and that he should relieve his

anxieties about money by requiring them to pay, and that, if he delivered these five or six persons to them, they would extract two lakhs of rupees from them. M. Lally replied that he would think over the matter and reply later.' M. Lenoir observed, 'M. Lally has said a dozen times in the presence of many that, as the Tamils have been much impoverished by their frequent payments, they should not be worried any more, but that the Europeans should be asked to pay. We have also received strict orders about it, so you will not be asked to pay anything. I do not know who has spread this false rumour.' M. Leyrit replied, 'I have decided to take precautions against the occurrence of such a thing.'

When a Brâhman living beside the burden-rest<sup>1</sup> by the tank at Periyanna Mudali's Choultry went to Periyanna Mudali's house and was leaving it to bathe with his head smeared with oil which had been given him in the house, three of the six Lubbais who belonged to the Mysore army and who had their ears cut off, seized him, and, having taken him to M. Lally's house, said, 'We went out yesterday as usual to get betel and provisions,

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<sup>1</sup> Two upright stones with a traverse one (about the level of a cooly's head) on which a burden may be rested without the fatigue of lowering it to the ground and raising it again. Such rests are often set up by the charitable beside tanks and high-ways.

and halted at the burden-rest by the tank. We had often given a few fanams to this Brâhman, who lives there, as we passed to and fro. Yesterday he sent word to the English by a *talaiyâri* woman who was there that some Pondichery people had arrived with provisions. The English people came therefore in large numbers. We asked the Brâhman who they were. He replied that they were only cultivators and that we need not be afraid of them. But, as soon as they came, they tied our hands behind our backs. When we asked the Brâhman again, he replied that they were English people and that he could do nothing. They then cut off our ears.' <sup>1</sup> M. Lally ordered this evening that the Brâhman's ears should be cut off close as well as his nose and that then he should be hanged. The Brâhman was accordingly hanged after his ears and nose had been cut off. All these 60 years since the town was founded, no Brâhman has been slain here till to-day this one was hanged. In former times when a Brâhman was about to be hanged, I would explain to the Governor that it was a great sin to kill a Brâhman, so

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<sup>1</sup> Mutilation as a means of deterring the population from carrying supplies into a besieged place was familiar in Southern India. The Mysoreans, when besieging Trichinopoly, had greatly straitened the garrison for supplies by cutting off the noses of coolies found carrying in provisions. I do not think that the practice was ever countenanced by Coote; but it is possible that it was employed by sepoys in the English service without orders.

he would be let off, because the town was then destined to prosperity, but now a Brâhman has been hanged for the town is destined to ruin.<sup>1</sup> Subbâ Jôsier has predicted that between the 28th and 31st *Ādi*,<sup>2</sup> the left-hand<sup>3</sup> influence of Jupiter in Pisces will come to an end with misfortunes to certain persons. Though, contrary to this prediction, those who have prospered have not been punished, this poor Brâhman has been unjustly hanged. But as Jupiter will now rise in the sign of Cancer for a period of nine years, its left-hand influence will not be felt, but its right-hand will. As the times are still bad, evil signs have been seen ; but the left-hand influence of Jupiter will now wane and its right-hand wax, thereby proving the truth of the *Shâstras*.

The Mysore troops have plundered Karukudikuppam, Pâkkumudaiyâmpattu, etc. places destroying or plundering houses there, and when questioned, they asked what else they could do when they had nothing to eat and were dying of hunger.

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<sup>1</sup> Executions of Brâhmanas were, of course, regarded with great disapproval by the Hindu population ; and indeed only took place in special circumstances. Major Lawrence at Trichinopoly executed one for sending information to the French ; but it should be remembered that even a Brâhman ruler like the Peshwa would not hesitate to execute a Brâhman for crime against the State.

<sup>2</sup> i. e., between the 8th and 11th August.

<sup>3</sup> i. e., sinister.

*Sunday, August 10.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Leyrit, M. Guillard, two or three writers and a few writers from the Beach—five or six persons in all—returned after hearing mass at the Fort church. I paid my respects with a bouquet. He received it gladly and asked the news. I replied that all of us had been waiting for his favour. After smelling the bouquet, M. Leyrit gave it to M. Guillard who smelt it and the others did the same. They then went inside and talked.

As regards the supply of provisions which I mentioned to M. Guillard yesterday, the latter said to M. Leyrit to-day that affairs could not go on for want of provisions, that, if they could not be got, we ourselves should have to deliver the Fort up to the enemy and that therefore affairs would prosper only if I were consulted. M. Leyrit said, 'True, we will consult him about it. There are no provisions, and, if ships do not come in in five or six days, nothing can be done. We must talk over the matter.' M. Guillard who came out afterwards to go home, came to me and said, 'I have spoken to M. Leyrit regarding the supply of provisions we talked about yesterday. I have told him to consult you about it.' I replied, 'I am doing nothing because

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<sup>1</sup> 30th Ādi, Vikrama.

I spoke of the matter to M. Leyrit yesterday. Well, if I am asked about it, I shall tell him.' M. Guillard then went home.

Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, Narasimha Chetti and Appu Mudali were waiting for M. Dubois, who immediately on his arrival, went and talked to M. Leyrit and departed afterwards. I do not know what he talked about. They still waited. I talked with M. Tobin about several matters, and came home at eleven. I have not heard any important news.

When Râmalingan went to M. Lally's house yesterday, a European commandant of the troops questioned him about something to which Râmalingan replied. He thrice kicked him and thrice boxed his ears, declaring that for such an answer in the field any one would have been hanged. Râmalingan complained to the Bishop Padré who was there, and the latter reported the matter to M. Lally who ordered the commandant to be kept in custody at the Fort.

Twenty-five thousand rupees were paid yesterday about M. Borthelin's affair, 20,000 in ready money and coarse Yânâm cloth worth 5,000 rupees. His people, mother-in-law, wife and servants went and talked with him at the Fort while in custody. Although he is allowed to go about, he has not yet been released. I do



not know why. Though M. Panon had not paid M. Legou the price of one bahar of pepper he had purchased, he wanted the other to sell him another bahar, saying that he would pay the price of the bahar he had already purchased. M. Legou replied that he did not care whether M. Panon paid or not, as he had no pepper to sell, having sold all his stock. When M. Legou was asked who had purchased the pepper, he replied that he had sold it to the camp people. M. Panon reported this to M. Lally who ordered M. Legou to be kept in custody at the Fort which was done accordingly.

*Monday, August 11.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. M. Loyrit, M. Ceccaty, major, and two or three Europeans were talking there. I paid my respects with a bouquet. He accepted it and thanked me much, smelling the bouquet. He then asked the news. I replied that, owing to scarcity of provisions in the town, poor people were almost dying of starvation, and many had departed in the last two days. He went in, being unable to say what should be done. I went aside and waited.

Two or three Europeans who then came, said that they had come as M. Dubois was

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<sup>1</sup> 31st Ādi, Vikrama.

fixing the share of the tax for the Europeans. I came home at eleven.

I heard that Râmalingan and Ayyan Sâstri who were ordered yesterday to go to Gingee to bring in provisions, set out last night but were caught in the rain, and, having lost their way, wandered about Mortândi Choultry, Kuyilârpâlaiyam, Kâttumêttu, etc. places and returned home this morning.

M. Véry, officer, who stood surety for Ayyan Sâstri when the country was in my possession<sup>1</sup>, having died to-day, I told M. Leyrit that large sums were due from M. Véry and other sureties. M. Leyrit replied that he would collect the dues. I think that the money will go either to M. Leyrit or the Company.

M. Dubois sent for the Choultry-writers and asked them why they had not collected 6,000 rupees from the *mahânâttârs* as he had ordered. I hear that the Choultry-writers have therefore sent for the *mahânâttârs* and questioned them about the amount.

Râmalinga Pillai who set out yesterday for Gingee but who returned owing to the rains, set out again this evening and passed the town-gate. I hear that Ayyan Sâstri has left for Mysore.

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. ix, pp. 141, 373, 374, 402 *supra*.

*Tuesday, August 12.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Leyrit opened his door at nine and came out. M. Guillard, M. Lenoir, M. Renault and M. La Grenée, five or six councillors in all, went in to him. I went with them and paid my respects. As they were talking, I sat down outside. Kandappa Mudali came and said, 'M. Leyrit gave an order on M. du Bausset for 18,062 rupees on the Valudâvûr country on account of the money to be given to the Company for expenses. Instead of paying, he has been saying that the money has been already paid to the Company. As he thus delayed, I asked him again, but he then said that the country had fallen into the possession of the English and that therefore he could not pay. Thereupon I asked him for a note which too he evaded, but to-day he gave it me. Please read it.' The bond was dated December 20, 1759, and the amount was 18,062 rupees.

Kandappa Mudali continued, 'Râmalingan and Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, tried their utmost to get me, Savarirâya Pillai and Appu Mudali delivered into their power on the pretext of collecting money from us, but their attempts have failed. Formerly Pâpayya Pillai did the same, but we kept quiet ; and now these persons are behaving in

the like manner. What have we done to him? But our good luck has delivered us from him. M. Dubois related the whole matter to Kuttarâya Pillai and the latter to me. Then the Nayinâr came and said that a corporal had been sent by M. Courtin to shut me up in the dungeon; I said I would come as soon as I had seen the Governor. Be pleased to plead on my behalf.' Thus he entreated me. I told him that I would do as he wished after those who were talking had gone. Afterwards I, the Nayinâr and Kandappa Mudali went in. M. Leyrit asked us what the matter was. The Nayinâr said, 'Even for small offences, men are ordered twice a week to be shut up in the dungeon and have their hands bound behind them. I no longer desire my office. When a crime is committed, you should be informed, so that you may summon and question me. But how can I manage if, for trivial things, any one can order men to the dungeon?'—'Well,' M. Leyrit replied, 'you had better wait here.' So saying he sent for M. Courtin. As it was twelve o'clock, I came home, and I have not heard what happened afterwards.

M. Courtin, who attended the Choultry-court, ordered Dairiyanâtha Mudali, the Choultry dubâsh, to be brought. On his appearing, he was ordered to be imprisoned at

the Choultry, which was done accordingly. When I enquired why he had been imprisoned, I was told that it was because he had not attended when sent for, but stayed at home on the plea of sickness.

When M. Courtin came, M. Leyrit asked him why he had ordered the Nayinâr to the dungeon. M. Courtin replied, 'He never attends even when sent for. Used he not always to attend at M. Guillard's house? His dubâsh Venkatâchala Nâyakkan and he have made money in the town; and he never attends on me because he fears lest his conduct should be made known. I ordered him to report the news to me twice daily, but he never does so. That is why I have shut him up in the dungeon.' On this M. Leyrit grew angry with the Nayinâr but ordered him not to be shut up in the dungeon but watch to be kept over him. M. Courtin continued, 'To tell you the truth, if he fails to attend on me twice daily with the news, I will tie him to the Choultry post, give him 100 stripes, cut off his ears and put him in irons. He should be shut up in the dungeon till evening.' He was shut up accordingly.

At three o'clock this afternoon a chobdar and a peon came and said that M. Lally wanted me. On my way I met the *mahâ-nâttârs* who said, 'M. Dubois calling us this

afternoon asked what we had done about the 6,000 rupees and whether the sum had been collected. We replied we had not yet written the details of apportionment. He replied that though he had told us about it four days ago, yet he found us still saying that we had not written the details. He then beat Arama Chetti and others, and took Tillai Maistri to M. Lally in custody. We salaamed and presented our petition.<sup>1</sup> He read it, and said that though the councillors had fixed our portion of the tax at 36,000 rupees, yet, as we had complained to him, he had reduced it to 6,000, and that, if we paid this sum, we should not be troubled any more about the tax nor would he ask the Tamils or others to pay another cash, that we might rely upon his oath, and that he would sign a declaration that henceforth neither the councillors nor he himself, nor future Governors nor the King's people should collect any tax from us. He then went in, ordering us to send for you.' On my arrival, I found M. Dubois and Padré Noronha present. I paid my respects to M. Lally. He returned his compliments and said, 'M. Leyrit and the councillors fixed the house-tax to be collected from the *mahânâttârs*

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., to M. Lally.

at 36,000 rupees. The *mahânâttârs* complained to me, so I have fixed the amount at 6,000 rupees to be paid in four days. If they fail to pay this sum, they will have to pay 36,000 rupees or even more. Let them not do now what hereafter they will repent of. Make them pay the 6,000 rupees and tell them that they will not be taxed any more. I will sign a paper to that effect and you had better explain matters to them and take them away.' So saying, he went in. M. Dubois who was there with the Padré Bishop said, 'The *mahânâttârs* represented through Râmalinga Pillai that they would collect and pay 6,000 rupees in 20 days' time. I did not agree, so they begged for fifteen days, but I allowed them only eight. Then they came four days later, and said that they had written nothing and had nothing to pay. So I beat two of them, imprisoned Tillai Maistri and took them to M. Lally, who ordered me to tell the *mahânâttârs* to pay 6,000 rupees. I agreed.'

M. Dubois and the Padré Bishop Noronha continued, 'About the sepoys' affair, we arranged that the amount to be collected from one man should be divided among four. But M. Gadeville represented to M. Leyrit that, if the others were made to find each a separate amount for the sepoys' pay, the sum thus got

might be utilized for the earth-diggers<sup>1</sup> pay and that the nine persons who paid already should be made to pay the money required for the sepoys. I have however devised a plan and told Appu Mudali about it, and asked him to put in a petition.' Afterwards M. Gadeville arrived, and, on seeing him, M. Dubois cautioned the others to say nothing. I think that M. Dubois fears M. Gadeville so much because he has made money in many ways. On entering, M. Gadeville said, '*Bon jour, Monsieur Ranga Pillai.*' I paid him my compliments. He then asked the Nayinâr why he had not brought Kulandai Chetti as ordered. The Nayinâr replied that he was present. Kulandai Chetti with trembling limbs and faltering voice said, 'What is it, Sir?' M. Gadeville replied, 'Where are the hundred pieces of the Yânâm cloth you bought?' Kulandai Chetti answered, 'I had only 11 pieces and those have been taken away by the Choultry-people.'—'Sign a statement to that effect,' M. Gadeville said. As there was nobody there who could write the note, I said that I would get it written by the Choultry-writer and send it. He asked me to do so, and, escorting me as far as the gate,

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<sup>1</sup> Doubtless employed on the fortifications of the town in preparation for the approaching siege.



wished me good-bye. I thanked him and came away.

When I was there, the Nayinâr sent me word requesting that he should be released from custody. I sent a man from M. Lally's house to release him and bring him to aid the Choultry-writers in collecting the money due from the *mahânâttârs*. The Nayinâr came after his release.

The Nânâ's horse, it is said, number 15,000 or 30,000, and their sardâr, Viswâsa Pandit,<sup>1</sup> sent letters to M. Lally, M. Leyrit and me, saying that he would come, if summoned with 10,000 horse he had at the passes. The Brâhman who delivered the letters was a stout, tall man, wearing a large red turban. He said, 'Viswâsa Pandit sent three letters, one to M. Lally, another to M. Leyrit and the third to you. I gave your letter also to M. Lally who asked me for whom it was. I said it was intended for the Wazârat Râyar. "Who is the Wazârat Râyar?" he asked. I mentioned your name, whereon he said, after reading his letter, that he would give you yours, but the Bishop Padré who was close by took it away saying that he would deliver it to you. Have you received it?' I replied, no. He added, 'The contents of M. Lally's, M. Leyrit's,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Orme, ii, 685 and 695, etc.

and your letters are the same. I desired to visit you yesterday but was not able to do so as I was still weary with my journey on horseback. I shall speak with you again before I depart with the replies.'—'When you come, bring my letter also,' I said. He continued, 'Viswâsa Pandit holds you in high esteem, and when he went to Kumarâswâmi Tambirân at Benares, the latter extolled you and your glory to him. Moreover when Kâttuvâthiyam<sup>1</sup> Subbayyan visited you, you were celebrating a marriage grandly, spending 2,000 or 3,000 rupees, causing the *naubat* to be beaten, and using an elephant with a howdah. Viswâsa Pandit praised you much when Subbayyan reported the celebration of the marriage to him. Subbayyan is now with him. Your name and the manner in which you manage your office are praised at Delhi, Poona, Satâra, Benares, etc. places. The talk with the *dorais* is always about you and not about others, and the French glory is entirely due to you. Thus all extol you, your glory and valour. When such is your glory, how is it that you go in a palankin with but four peons?'—'What of that?' I replied. 'Did not

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<sup>1</sup> There is a stringed instrument called Kâttuvâthiyam and the man referred to must have been a skilled player on it. He had doubtless been invited by the Diarist to display his skill, and would seem to have been adequately rewarded.

Garuda conquer Dêvêndra and bring nectar ? ”

Venkatanâranappa Ayyan, the Mysore vakîl, and Venkâji Pandit then came and departed, having agreed with the Bishop Padré Noronha that the Mysore army should go to Gingee, whence they should send provisions hither, prevent provisions from reaching the English, and defeat them.

I then went to M. Leyrit with the *mahânâttârs* and reported to him what had taken place with M. Lally about the councillors' troubling the *mahânâttârs* to pay 36,000 rupees for the house-tax, their complaints to him and his asking them to pay 6,000 rupees instead of 36,000. 'There, now!' M. Leyrit replied, 'M. Lally who ordered us to write the house-tax now blames us. Don't you know it?' I replied that I knew it all well. 'Well,' M. Leyrit replied, 'you had better tell them to collect this amount and pay it quickly.' Agreeing, I came home with the *mahânâttârs*, sent for the Choultry-writers and the Nayinâr and sent them away with orders to collect the amount in two or three days and pay it without delay.

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<sup>1</sup> Garuda was the bird and vehicle of Vishnu. The allusion is to Garuda's going to Indra, the Lord of the Dêvas, defeating him and bringing the *Amirtakalasa* or vessel of nectar, in order to ransom his mother Vinata from the service of Kardru. See *Mahâbhârata Anusâsana Parva*, Chapters 19-29.

*Wednesday, August 13.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Leyrit was just coming out of his room when I reached the Fort this morning. I went in with five or six Europeans and paid my respects to him. M. Leyrit retired after talking a short while. When I was returning home, I met M. Martin, M. Barthélemy's writer, who said, 'You have paid 10,000 rupees according to the bond, but you have not taken the bond back. M. Boyelleau will come this afternoon to examine everything which has been kept sealed up. He will send for you, and then you may tell him about your having paid, and get back the bond. I have been ordered by Madame Barthélemy to tell you this.'—'Very well,' I said, and then came home. But at once a Coffree<sup>2</sup> came and said that Madame Barthélemy wanted me. She was at table when I arrived, and, when she was told of my coming, she sent word to me to wait. So I waited. When she had finished eating, she, M. Bruno's<sup>3</sup> wife and M. Martin remained within. But afterwards, M. Martin came out and asked me about the bond for 10,000 rupees. I replied, 'Do you not know? I gave a note for 10,000 rupees as my present on account of

<sup>1</sup> 1st *Āvani*, *Vikrama*.

<sup>2</sup> African slaves were far from uncommon at this period in India.

<sup>3</sup> For wife read widow. Cf. vol. x, p. 313, *supra*.

the country business<sup>1</sup>, and although I have paid the amount, the note has not been returned to me. The reason was that the wife of Râmayya Pillai (M. Barthélemy's dubâsh) having died, Râmayya Pillai went northwards in search of a girl to marry ; all declined to give him a girl in marriage ; and M. Barthélemy then said, that, unless I found a girl for Râmayya Pillai, he would not return the bond. M. Lally then arrived, and I complained to him against M. Leyrit. M. Barthélemy spoke strongly on my behalf. When he was asked why he did so, he replied that he had lent 20,000 rupees on account of the country business, and that he spoke thus as he thought he would not get his money unless I got mine from the country. At the same time M. Barthélemy told me that he had said he had given a loan of 20,000 rupees on the country management and that he would keep the bond to show should any question arise about the affair. Consequently I did nothing. Afterwards when he went to Tranquebar, you sent for me and demanded the 5,000 rupees I owed. When I replied that I had no money, I was told that I should at least pay the interest. I replied that I had at the moment no money for that either, adding that the bond for 10,000 rupees

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<sup>1</sup> i.e.. Ranga Pillai's interests as renter.

had not been returned to me although the money had been paid. You said that it would be given me after his return, but, when that happened, I was confined to my bed by sickness. Then my son was asked unjustly to pay 10,000 rupees and was imprisoned. This demand of 10,000 rupees and the tax affair which was managed through me kept me constantly engaged ; and then M. Barthélemy fell ill and stayed at home. Ten days later I demanded the return of my bond for 10,000 rupees as I had paid the amount. "Why trouble yourself," M. Barthélemy replied, "about a matter that has been settled? I have entered all the details and closed the account. What fear then? When M. Martin comes, I will tell him to return the bond." So I went away. I went to him again two days before his death in order to speak about the bond and get it back. As he was then unconscious, I told you that, although I had paid 10,000 rupees according to the bond, the bond had not been given back. You replied, "This is not the time for business. It will be returned afterwards." Others were present besides yourself.' When I thus related the matter from beginning to end, he said, 'I asked you just now about the matter because the property is to be shared equally among his daughter's children and me. I, as an

equal sharer, know that the sum has been paid, but, as the others do not, they may ask you to swear to it, and you will have to speak the truth.' I replied that, as I had paid the amount, I would inform them of the whole. They said that I was to say that the sum of 10,000 rupees was a loan, not a present, that I was not to tell anybody about their asking me, and that I should consider it to be a matter between me and them.

I then said, 'About the money due to me from dubâsh Muttayyan, he took the bond from me, promising to get the amount from Sônâchalam and pay it to me. But I have not received the amount, nor has the bond been returned to me.' They said, 'That was not placed among the bonds that were sealed up, but was kept separately.' The bond for 21,000 rupees in dubâsh Muttayyan's name, that for 7,000 written in my name and another for 100 pagodas—three bonds in all—were given to me and I, receiving them, came home. They also said, 'M. Boyelleau will break the seals either to-day or to-morrow, and then he will send for you, and ask you about the bond. Tell him then the truth about the payment.' 'Very well,' I replied, and then came home.

*Thursday, August 14.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning, and as M. Leyrit was in his

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<sup>1</sup> 2nd Âvâni, Vikrama.

room, I went in and paid my respects to him with a bouquet, which he received and with compliments asked the news. I replied, 'As nothing can be had, some have left the town along with Madame Élias, about 1,000 have gone up to now, and more are ready to go along with the Mysore troops who are about to march. Many have already gone for fear of the English but now they are going for fear of being starved.'—'Well,' he replied, 'it is better that people go out, for the few provisions that are left in the town will suffice for two more days.' When we were talking thus, the councillors came to attend the council, so M. Leyrit prepared himself to go. I took leave and waited at the sorting-godown. Kandappa Mudali, Appu Mudali and Râmachandra Râo came there and talked to me about the sepoy business. I told them strictly to write and present a petition saying, 'We have agreed to find money for the sepoys' pay with the help of certain other persons ; but our burden must be made as light as possible ; we will pay the amount in a month's time as ordered, but cannot manage the business further. The sepoys cause indescribable trouble, for they do not allow us to remain quietly at home. We must henceforth live in the Fort, for we cannot bear the sepoys' importunity.' The councillors who attended



the council from nine o'clock to eleven, then came downstairs with M. Leyrit, the council having risen. M. Leyrit and M. Courtin got into a palankin and went to M. Lally's, while the other councillors went to their respective homes. I came home at noon. Those who went to M. Lally's house talked with him till two. M. Courtin dined at M. Porcher's and M. Leyrit in his own house. M. Lally did not dine till after two. I think the council considered the threatened collection of a tax from the Europeans. I shall enquire about it and write in detail.

As our people had yesterday seized the Mysore artillery draught-bullocks, because the Mysoreans had not supplied the promised cattle, the Mysore troops complained that, if these draught-bullocks were seized, the cannon could not reach the camp. Consequently their departure has been postponed to-day.

Mudevi Johannes' son, who obtained the passport for Madame Élias<sup>1</sup> to go to Negapatam [on business], was ready to accompany her, but as she had gone in advance, he set out afterwards and stayed the night in Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry. When the English came and

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<sup>1</sup> I suppose mother-in-law of Delarche who at one time was mentioned so constantly by the Diarist.

asked who he was, he replied that he was a merchant going to Negapatam whereon he was required to go to Colonel Coote. But he refused, saying that he was but a merchant and that he had nothing to do with him. Thereon the English people wounded him in the hand, seized the 10,000 pagodas he was carrying, and broke his palankin. The palankin-bearers having fled, the English people departed, leaving him there. His sister's husband, Major Monsieur Trinquière<sup>1</sup>, took him to Colonel Coote at Villiyanallûr and complained that, when a merchant was travelling by the road, his people had cut off one of his hands and seized his money. Colonel Coote replied, 'My men would never have done that ; your Mysoreans must have done it and beaten him. In future, any one wishing to pass out must obtain my passport or see me and only go after he has obtained one. I will not be responsible for any one travelling without my pass. The money plundered from Madras is all at Pondichery, and why should I allow it to be taken out when Pondichery is about to fall into our hands with all the money ?' I heard this at the Fort from certain

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<sup>1</sup> Lally (*Mémoire*, p. 246) describes him as lieutenant of the *Bataillon de l'Inde*, and names him among the leaders of the conspiracy directed against himself and Dubois after the surrender of the town.

Europeans who had heard it from M. Trinquière.

As M. Carvalho has been assessed to the tax for 1,500 rupees, he went to M. Lally and said, 'I settled here at the desire of M. Duplex'. As I have already given money to the Company, how can I now pay 1,500 rupees?' M. Lally answered, 'You dog! With your position and the house you have, can't you pay 1,500 rupees? I will shut you up in the dungeon or put you in irons.' M. Lally not only spoke contemptuously and angrily but also thrust him away, with the cane in his hand, saying 'Be off, you dog!' M. Carvalho then went, greatly troubled in mind, and said to M. Leyrit, 'See how disrespectfully M. Lally has treated me.' M. Leyrit replied, 'What can I do if he behaves so?' Certain Europeans reported this to me.

Having to-day recovered their draught-bullocks, the Mysoreans marched for Gingee, and along with them, went many of the townspeople. Many Mysoreans and many of their horses have died of starvation.

*Friday, August 15.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Leyrit returned home at nine from hearing mass at church in honour of the European festival<sup>3</sup> to-day. I paid my

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. vii, p. 161, n. 2, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> 3rd Āvāni, Vikrama.

<sup>3</sup> The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

respects to him on his way to church and on his return. When he went into his room, M. Renault and M. Carvalho went in to talk with him, as also did five or six other Europeans, so I waited outside.

Kandappa Mudali came and spoke to me about the tax and other affairs. Râmachandra Râo also came and said, 'The sepoy's demands are unbearable. Although we decided otherwise yesterday, we need not include the names of any others, but shall present a petition to the council stating that we cannot pay the amount within the month allowed, so that we may get at least a month's time.' While we were talking thus, M. Boyelleau brought a letter for M. Leyrit to sign, and talked to him. It was then eleven o'clock, so I thought of returning home. But then Saravanan (son of Chakkaraiyappa Mudali, Mannappa Mudali's brother-in-law) came with a letter brought by M. Dubois' peon, and gave it to M. Leyrit, who on reading it, sent for me just as I was setting out to go home. When I went in, M. Leyrit said, 'M. Dubois has sent a letter recommending the release of Mannappa Mudali Kumarappa Mudali, who is now in irons but who has agreed to pay 600 rupees. What do you say about it?' Saravanan replied, 'He has not agreed to pay another 600 rupees, and there has been no talk about it. The

mistake is the dubâsh's for M. Dubois does not know Portuguese, and the dubâsh does not know French. This is all.' When M. Leyrit enquired what he said, I replied, 'He cannot have agreed to this sum now. Formerly he gave a bond for 600 rupees, but he did not pay the amount, whereon M. Courtin in order to compel him to pay 4,000 or 5,000, put him in irons and shut him in the dungeon. I do not think it right to demand another 600 rupees, when 600 rupees is the amount settled already. What is your pleasure?'—'Tell him to pay the 600 rupees in cash now,' M. Leyrit replied. Saravanan replied, 'I have no money now but I shall manage to pay it in a week.'—'In that case,' M. Leyrit answered, 'find a surety.' Saravanan brought Kandappa Mudali and mentioned him as surety. Kandappa Mudali said, 'I agree to pay the amount in eight days myself. He is my relation.' Thereon Mannappa Mudali Kumarappa Mudali was released. M. Leyrit then asked about the rest. I mentioned Irisappa Chetti Muttu. He ordered him to be brought, and asked me about him. I replied, 'All know that he has not even *conjee* to drink or a cloth to wear, although he carries on trade in this town, but Râmalingan has written the names of many such persons.' Thereon M. Leyrit agreed to release

him and, sending for Ellâri's son, asked me about him. I replied that he would pay the 100 rupees which had been set down against him. M. Leyrit ordered his release on his giving a bond. I gave M. Leyrit accordingly the bond which I had obtained from Ellâri's son. He then asked if there were any others. I replied that there were none in the dungeon. As the clock struck twelve, I took leave and came home.

As the English attacked the Ariyânkup-pam batteries, the Europeans in the washing and other places marched to Ariyânkuppam with their guns.

When I was at the Fort at ten o'clock to-day, M. Leyrit and M. Dubois wanted me to sign the certificate which I had not signed before about the *tâkîd* to Guntûr Bâli Chetti on account of the *parwâna* for the country management, sealed with M. Leyrit, the Governor's Persian seal and signed by him in French, to the effect that the crop accounts should be rendered again to my former amal-dârs who were removed from the management of my share of the Villiyanallûr country on December 30, 1759,<sup>1</sup> corresponding with the 19th *Mârgali*, *Bahudânya*. Kandappa Mudali who had the *parwâna* gave it to me

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<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* The year should be 1753.

at ten o'clock to-day, telling me that it would be of use in getting money from the Guntûr people. 'Why this when I have so many similar proofs already?' I asked, but, taking it, came home and put it in a compartment in the sloping desk in the hall. What I formerly lost by my evil fortune is now being made good unsought by me, from the 1st *Āvani*<sup>1</sup>. I trust therefore that my good fortune will continue from this date.

*Saturday, August 16.*<sup>2</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit, M. Renault, M. Boyelleau, M. Lenoir—four or five persons in all—came out after talking. I paid my respects. He asked me the news. 'What news is there?' I replied. 'As nothing can be had in the town, 1,000 or 2,000 people have left it during the last five or six days, and more are intending to depart. As 1,000 or 2,000 of the townspeople have gone out with the Mysoreans, there is little anxiety about rice. I have ordered the tax to be collected speedily and men are busy with it.'—'It is better,' he replied, 'that people go out now so that the stock will suffice for the remainder for a few more days.' Then all went to their respective houses, and I came home at eleven.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., August 13.

<sup>2</sup> 4th *Āvani*, *Vikrama*.

The English have been raising batteries in Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry and Tavalakuppam Choultry and by the Chunambâr in order to capture Ariyânkuppam fort. Our people are therefore raising batteries in Irujâmpâlaiyam west of Ariyânkuppam fort and Vâsudêvan Choultry. The English are on the other side of the Chunambâr and our people this side of it, and both sides have been making preparations since yesterday.

*Sunday, August 17.*<sup>1</sup>—Before I reached the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit had returned after hearing mass at the Capuchins' church at seven o'clock. For the last two or three Sundays and feast-days, M. Leyrit has attended the Fort church with three or four persons, but to-day he went to the Capuchins' church, some say, because he is stung by M. Lally's barbed words.

I went to M. Leyrit at half-past nine and delivered to him the cadjan letter from the Râjâ of Kadappanâd<sup>2</sup> in Malabar brought by a Brâhman along with cadjan letters from the Râjâ to me and to the Padré of the St. Paul's church. M. Leyrit asked what his letter said, and I read and reported it. He also asked

<sup>1</sup> 5th Ârani, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* We should read *Kaduttanâl*. This was the Chieftain known to the English as the Boyanore Râjâ. See Logan, *Malabar Manual*, pp. 347 and 400.



about the other letters ; I replied that they were addressed to me and to the Padró of the Capuchins' church. He also asked their contents, which I reported to him. He then ordered me to get his letter translated into French. As Râmachandra Rão is the person who now translates letters into French, I called and ordered him to translate the letter accordingly. Râmachandra Rão went to M. Le Beaume to get the letter translated. Afterwards M. Dubois arrived to speak with M. Leyrit.

Certain men (I know not whom) have had two French writings made and posted, one over the tomb of Kanakarâya Mudali's grandfather, and the other on the pillar brought from Gingee. Large crowds read them. M. Leyrit who also saw them on his way to the Capuchins' church, sent his Topass Louche to bring them to him. But before Louche reached the place, one of M. Lally's troopers (called dragoons) had removed the two writings. Copies however were sent to M. Leyrit who, after reading them, returned them to M. Lally. Their contents are as follows :—'The former Governors and councillors under the Company captured Madras with only a few soldiers, defeated Mr. Morse and others, besides defeating and slaying Nâsîr Jang, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and others ; they then despatched

troops to Trichinopoly and captured places thereabouts, sent M. Bussy to Salabat Jang and conquered Bunder and country thereabouts yielding crores of revenues. Learning of this, the King of France sent you a Lieutenant-General with 14 ships and 5,000 soldiers, in order that you might conquer yet more countries and bring yet greater glory ; whereas you have recalled M. Bussy from the north who made affairs prosper there, and M. Moracin who was at Bunder, managing it and other places yielding crores. Then you recalled the troops at Trichinopoly who would have captured it. Then you settled Kârikâl, Valudâvûr, Villiyanallûr, Tyâgadrug and other places. Only Gingee and Pondichery remain, and in five or six days you will deliver up them also, and give the English your parole in token of surrender, and then you mean to sail to Europe, after securing in places outside Pondichery all the money you have made here, and inform the King who sent you here that after winning victories on all sides, you have come home after delivering Pondichery to the English. The King of France sent you to India, where his fame already shone from Cape Comorin to Delhi, in order that his name, glory and valour might shine with greater splendour, by your winning victories on all

sides. See what countries you have conquered! What a name you have made for yourself! And how illustrious you have made the King who sent you! Who else could have done so much! And in the town, you have made its people beggars.' This I have heard from one or two persons at the Fort, and M. Dubois came to talk with M. Leyrit merely about this.

They then asked if I had collected the money. I replied, 'I am busy about it, and it is being collected. But blacksmiths and carpenters bring you recommendations and you give orders,' taking advantage of which those willing to pay put it off. Money will therefore come in slowly. But when it has been collected, I will render you the collection accounts and your account.' Then I waited outside, but M. Dubois departed.

M. Boyelleau and M. La Grenée then came and talked about the tax imposed upon them.

M. Courtin and M. Denis<sup>2</sup> were then sent for.

M. Rochette, M. Lally's secretary, sent me a letter complaining that I was collecting the tax even from M. Lally's servants, and asking if I were wise so to play with M. Lally. I

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, excusing them.

<sup>2</sup> Carvalho's son-in-law.

showed this letter to M. Boyelleau who came out just then. M. Boyelleau having read it, showed it to M. Leyrit, who only smiled as he read it. M. Boyelleau afterwards said, 'Reply to him that you are not in charge of the business and that M. Lally's people are collecting the tax according to his orders.' I took the letter and asked head-peon Sântappan, who had brought it, how many servants were under M. Lally. He replied that there were about twelve—chobdars, the head-peons and water-carriers. I told him to write and bring me a list of them so that I could remit their tax, and then came home.

On my way I met M. Courtin who said that he wished to talk to me about his private business later on, but that he at the moment had no leisure. He then went away.

Orders were given to-day that all peons with badges (except the Company's peons) who are working in private houses, should return their badges to the Company.

I write below the contents of the cadjan letter to M. Leyrit from the Râjâ of Kadattanâd in Malabar :—' Your people sought a loan from me and I assisted them with a certain amount. M. Louët, the Chief at Mahé, and his assistants, the councillors, will have written to you about it. I now write to you

because I cherish the friendship of the French Company. Hearing that the English had captured Pondichery, my people at Mahé demanded their debts, but I have detained them here with promises of payment and written to you without their knowledge, in order to find out whether the fall of Pondichery is true. Is it true that the English are attacking Pondichery? Please write to me about it.'

To-day I heard the following news of what occurred from yesterday afternoon up to half-past eight at night :—M. Lally sent a letter which was received by M. Leyrit, M. Moracin and M. Courtin who replied to it. M. Lally sent a reply by his secretary which was replied to again. Again M. Lally sent a reply at half-past eight at night. As letters passed thrice, I think that M. Leyrit, M. Boyelleau, M. Courtin, M. La Grenée and M. Denis must have conferred to-day about the matter.

I heard at eight o'clock to-night from certain Europeans who came to my house that M. Lally had sent to M. Leyrit a signed letter ordering all Europeans, high and low, to go to the Fort at nine o'clock to-morrow morning and attend the great council. Though they first said that the purpose was unknown, they said they guessed that it must be about the

writing referred to this morning abusing M. Lally.<sup>1</sup>

*Monday, August 18.*<sup>2</sup>—I paid my respects to M. Leyrit at the Fort at nine o'clock this morning and gave him the French translation of the letter from the Râjâ of Kadattanâd in Malabar. After reading it, he asked where the cadjan was. I gave it to him, and he, taking it, said the messenger might be despatched to-morrow.

Then I showed M. Leyrit my reply to the note I received yesterday from M. Rochette, M. Lally's secretary. After reading it, M. Leyrit approved and said it might be sent.

While I was describing to M. Leyrit the miseries of the townspeople, M. Moracin came; both went in, so I withdrew, and, on seeing M. Boyelleau, I showed him my reply to M. Rochette's note. He read it and said that it might be sent.

Kandappa Mudali and Râmachandra Râo then came and desired me to sign the petition about the sepoy business. I signed three petitions.

Afterwards 50 soldiers and two captains of M. Lally's Regiment and the same number of the Lorraine Regiment were drawn up by

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<sup>1</sup> The 'Assemblée nationale,' as they called the Diarist's 'great council,' met to consider the desperate financial situation.

<sup>2</sup> 6th *Āvani*, *Vikrama*.

the *Gouvernement*. The councillors, writers and Europeans, high and low, assembled at the Fort. At ten o'clock M. Lally, with Padré Bishop Noronha and five or six of his European friends, escorted by officers and dragoons with their guns carried, some in the hand and some at the back, arrived at the Fort. His gait and face showed his agitation. He went upstairs at the *Gouvernement*, read M. Dumont's<sup>1</sup> letter, and said, 'Our squadron from Europe has reached Mascareigne with treasure and many men. Ships will arrive shortly or by November 30 at the latest, after which we shall prosper. When formerly I was at Wandiwash, I wrote to M. Leyrit asking him to lay in provisions enough for a year, and he is to blame for not having done so. Now our soldiers and officers have nothing to eat, so if ordered to take the field, they refuse, and it is feared that the men will desert to the enemy. How can they march to battle without food? Means must be found to give the officers and men their pay. You should therefore confer together about this, and inform me of your conclusion.' Immediately afterwards he departed to his house, ordering the soldiers of the *Régiment de Lorraine* to remain [under guard] in the

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<sup>1</sup> Dumont was acting as French agent at Negapatam.

sorting-godown, and those of the *Régiment de Lally* at the palankin-stand before the *Gouvernement*. Both when he came and when he departed, he showed such signs of alarm as a man will do when the enemy advances to slay him. A council was then held at the Fort but I do not know its decisions.<sup>1</sup>

Four letters were found on M. Lally's cot and his table, two or three nights ago and two the night before last, saying, 'Beware, for if you die, the inhabitants will be glad and prosperous.'

At the Fort to-day M. Lally ordered M. Leyrit, the Governor, the councillors, writers, *sous-marchands* and the Company's European servants to give in a written account of their property—money, goods, gold and silver plate, provisions, paddy, rice, ghi, fowls, sheep, bullocks and everything else. M. Moracin and M. Courtin have been appointed to take an account of the money and goods and M. Miran and M. Denis of the provisions, such as paddy, rice, etc., which they find in the several houses and deliver them to M. Panon. Consequently M. Leyrit, the Governor, and M. Moracin, M. Courtin and M. Boyelleau, the councillors, after conferring, sent a note to

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting account of the *assemblée* will be found in Dorez' letter of August 20, cited above. Cf. Lally's *Mémoire*, p. 190.



M. Lally by M. La Grenée to which M. Lally replied at four. After reading this letter, M. Leyrit, M. Moracin and M. Courtin sent an answer to M. Lally, who sent back his reply at eight o'clock to-night. Thus letters and replies passed between them.

M. Solminiac, M. [lost] and M. Pouly, about 22 Europeans in all, have been ordered to pay 30,000 rupees, and the Tamils excluded. He<sup>1</sup> went away having ordered a list to be written of the property of M. Leyrit, the Governor, the councillors, writers, *sous-marchands* and other Company's servants. It remains to be seen what will be done.

*Tuesday, August 19.*<sup>2</sup>—When I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, M. Leyrit was in his room with doors closed. M. La Grenée and a few Europeans were waiting. When M. Leyrit came out at nine, I went and paid my respects to him with a bouquet which he accepted and placed on his table. He usually takes it with a smile and smells it, but to-day with a wry face he only put it down on the table. M. Moracin, M. Boyelleau and the Superior of the St. Paul's church, came. He took them in to show them the letter which M. Lally sent yesterday and discussed it with them. M. Denis came twice or

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., Lally.

<sup>2</sup> 7th *Āvani*, *Vikrama*.

thrice and went away after discussing the seizure of property in the Europeans' houses.

To-day death entered the houses of the Governor, councillors, writers, *sous-marchands*, etc., in the European quarters, as it formerly entered the Tamils' streets. M. Courtin who had to attend the Choultry-court, came at eleven o'clock and talked. Then M. Dubois came and talked. As it was then about twelve o'clock, I came home. I shall enquire and then write what is being done.

I told M. Leyrit that, of the 6,000 rupees, 2,000 which had been collected up to yesterday, had been taken to M. Dubois who then gave a letter ordering the amount to be delivered to M. Duplant, which had been done accordingly and a receipt obtained, and that the balance now being collected would be paid. M. Leyrit replied that the amount should be collected and paid soon.

The mint people told me that, when M. Guillard sent to the mint to be melted a gold cane-handle weighing 80 pagodas, a knife-handle weighing 140 pagodas, a small gold box along with silver articles and cups, M. Boyelleau ordered them to be taken away, saying that they need not be melted now, and that they might be brought in the evening and that therefore M. Guillard took them home.

*Wednesday, August 20.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning, paid my respects to M. Leyrit, and said that M. Lally's secretary had written to me saying that M. Lally had ordered that his chobdars, head-poons and water-carriers should not be taxed. M. Leyrit replied, 'My people have also asked me about it, but how will money come in if such orders are given?'

When we were talking thus, M. Moracin and M. Courtin came. The matter of collecting the tax from the Europeans has been settled. As it is not decent to summon the Governor and the councillors and demand of them what tax they can pay, as has been done to the Tamils, it has been decided that M. Moracin and M. Courtin who have been entrusted with the work of collecting the tax shall visit the Europeans' houses, to demand the tax and receive what their means permit them to pay. Accordingly M. Moracin and M. Courtin went to the St. Paul's church and thence to several houses to collect money.

I was told at half-past eleven that M. Lally wanted me. When I went, M. Lally was in his room. M. Gadeville who was on the verandah, saw me and said, '*Bon jour, Monsieur.*'—'*Bon jour, Monsieur,*' I replied. He then said that M. Lally had been so angry

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<sup>1</sup> 8th Āvāni, Vikrama.

with me that he had ordered me to be put in arrest. 'What for?' I asked. 'Because you are collecting taxes from poor people like M. Lally's servants and the Tamils at the Fort who have not received pay for one or two years,' he replied. 'I have nothing to do with it,' I explained. 'M. Leyrit and M. Dubois sent for the *mahânâtlârs* and told them to collect the tax, so they should be asked.'— 'Then you may go,' he said.

M. Lally then summoned M. Dubois and said to him angrily, 'Are you not satisfied with what you have already collected? Why oppress and tax the poor? I am informed that you are collecting 20,000 rupees when I needed only 6,000. I have received complaints about it.' In such terms M. Lally angrily scolded M. Dubois. I then went to M. Leyrit and told him about M. Lally's sending for me and what M. Gadeville said to me when I went. M. Leyrit replied, 'M. Lally knows nothing of M. Gadeville's threatening people without orders.' I replied, 'On my way, I met M. du Passage the engineer, Nallatambi Maistri, Sôlayappan, blacksmiths and carpenters—about ten persons in all—coming out of M. Lally's house in a body. I think they must have given in a complaint.' M. Leyrit said that M. du Passage would not do such a thing without telling him. 'Well,' I replied, 'I

met. them on my way, and they must be concerned in it.' I came home at noon.

This afternoon a peon came and said that M. Dubois wanted me. I went. He said that M. Lally had sent for him, and angrily blamed him for oppressing the poor in order to bring the tax up to 20,000 rupees. I replied, 'That is the tax on houses, not the tax on persons. The *mahânâtârs* give receipts for the sums they collect. Let the receipts be registered at M. Lally's *comptoir* and the *mahânâtârs*' collection accounts be compared with them; if any difference be found, let there be punishment and have this proclaimed by beat of tom-tom.'— 'Well,' he replied, and went to M. Leyrit's house, but as M. Leyrit had driven out, he went to M. Lally's. I drove out and came home at seven.

*Thursday, August 21.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, paid my respects to M. Leyrit, and reported to him M. Lally's angry summons of M. Dubois yesterday afternoon, M. Dubois' informing me with much displeasure of what had taken place, and my reply and M. Dubois' going first to his (M. Leyrit's) house and then as he was not at home, to M. Lally's.

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<sup>1</sup> 9th *Avani*, *Vikrama*.

M. Leyrit then said, 'You say that about 2,500 or 2,600 out of the 6,000 rupees of the house-tax, has been collected. Tell the *mahâ-nâttârs* to collect the balance of 3,400 rupees, and get the promised letter.' I replied, 'Chinna Mudali, Savarirâya Pillai, Râmachandra Râo, Sônâchala Pillai and others refuse to pay the tax, so the remainder obstinately follow their example. How then can I pay money promptly?' M. Leyrit replied, 'Bring a list of those who have not paid so that I may question them suitably at the council and let money be collected from the others and paid at once.' I said I would do accordingly.

Afterwards Bâpu Râo (Vâsudêva Pandit's son), came and said that M. Gadeville had sent for him and ordered him with threats not to collect the tobacco-tax. He was told to inform M. Dubois of this but replied, 'No one but the Company will lose. All taxes have been abolished; and if this too is abolished, the Company will lose. I tell you this but why should I tell M. Dubois?' Thereon [M. Leyrit] said he would speak to M. Dubois.

Afterwards M. Moracin, and three or four others came, and talked with M. Leyrit. I departed to attend the funeral ceremonies of Tirumalai Pillai at the well-tank and then came home

Papers were published by beat of tom-tom to the following effect :—

Mahârâja Râjasrî Monsieur le Comte de Lally Sâhib Avargal hereby makes known to all, in respect of the tax collected by the *mahânâttârs* that, whereas it has come to his knowledge that the *mahânâttârs* have collected more than they have paid to the Company, he hereby orders all people to produce at his office the receipts given for the 6,000 rupees already paid so that entries may be made in the accounts and the *mahânâttârs* may not collect more than what is proper ; he further orders that those who fail to produce receipts will have to pay the amount over again. Dated August 20, 1760.

This proclamation has been written in French, Portuguese, Persian, Marathi, Telugu and Tamil and posted at the Perumâl temple wall and in the Muttirai Choultry, and it was also announced by beat of tom-tom. Owing to this, the *mahânâttârs* collected no tax yesterday or to-day. I sent for the *mahânâttârs* this evening, informed them of what M. Leyrit, the Governor, said this morning, and instructed them to collect and pay in the money speedily.

I hear that M. Moracin and M. Courtin, who have gone begging at the St. Paul's church, the Capuchins' church, the Mission

church, the councillors' and private Europeans' houses, have received silver articles, cups, plate, etc., weighing 5,000 rupees and gold weighing 8 pagodas,<sup>1</sup> and got them melted at the mint.

*Friday, August 22.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. M. Leyrit opened his door at half-past nine and came out. M. Guillard and M. Duplant then came, and I went with them and paid my respects. M. Leyrit was talking with M. du Passage for a long time. The councillors then came to attend the council which was afterwards held.

Kandappa Mudali then came and asked if the petition about the sepoys' affair might be presented. I agreed; but as it was at Kandappa Mudali's house, it was not brought till ten. As the council was still sitting, I said that the petition should be presented when all were coming out after the council. But as even at noon no one had come out, and, when they came out, they would not read the petition at leisure, being in haste to get home, I came home thinking that it might be presented to the council to-morrow. The council was only about the property of those who are dead or impoverished, and about money.

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<sup>1</sup> He probably does not intend the figure literally, but means some small number. Cf. p 327 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> 10th *Āvani*, *Vikrama*.



M. Lally and Padró Bishop Noronha drove out in a carriage this afternoon and inspected the rubbish stored by M. Legou's house ; after treading about in it, they observed that the place should be made into a street after the arrival of the ships. They then got into the carriage and drove out beyond the Madras gate.

Twenty-one guns were fired at Valudâvûr to-day. When I was at the Fort, I was wondering why guns had been fired, and Kandappa Mudali came and asked if I had heard the 21 guns fired at Valudâvûr. I replied I had.

The man who brought the news of Tillaiyappa Mudali's death at Kandâdu reported a rumour that Mr. Pigot had reached Valudâvûr by Kandâdu, with two roundels ; this news is confirmed by the report of the 21 guns fired at the English camp at Valudâvûr.<sup>1</sup>

These last two or three days all the straw in the town has been seized for the Company's use. Since yesterday both male and female

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<sup>1</sup> On August 9, it was resolved that Pigot should go to the southward, to concert a plan of action with Coote and Steevens, the Admiral. He set out on the 18th accompanied by John Call (the Engineer) and Dupré. On the 30th he returned and reported his proceedings in Council (*Military Consultations* under the above-noted dates). The principal difficulty lay in inducing Steevens to land a sufficient number of marines to enable Coote to form the siege of Pondichery. This was accomplished at a conference held aboard the *Norfolk*, to which the Diarist alludes later on.

buffaloes have been killed for the hospital. In future the cows and female buffaloes will be killed.

*Saturday, August 23.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Leyrit, the Governor's room was opened at half-past nine. I and M. Valarmée[?] the European at the Beach, went and paid our respects. He asked the news. I replied, 'The *mahânâttârs* were summoned by M. Dubois and asked what money had been collected; they replied that only 500 rupees had come in. M. Dubois asked why so little had been collected after the 2,000 rupees collected two or three days ago. They replied that no money had been collected since then. M. Dubois then told them to bring the money that was ready, so they went and paid 500 rupees.' I added, 'M. du Passage, engineer, has given a list of 300 houses, some of which belong to blacksmiths and carpenters. About 30 houses belonging to M. Lally's servants have been excluded. About 200 or 300 will be thatched houses belonging to Pariahs. Besides there are houses which are uninhabited or the inmates of which have run away. When some 1,000 houses have been struck off for these reasons, only about 1,000 more will be left. How then is the sum of 6,000 rupees

to be collected from these houses when the Government is in [possession of] every house ?' He made no reply, but only looked up and down.

Afterwards Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown came and said, 'When I spoke to M. Dubois to-day about the tobacco-tax, he advised me to present a petition to the council. I replied that it was not my business but the Company's, and that therefore there was no need to present any petition. I was then told to ask M. Leyrit to write about it.' But even then [M. Leyrit] remained silent.

None of the councillors came. M. Guillard visited the *comptoir* and then went away.

M. Solminiac, M. La Tour, etc., ten persons in all, came to speak of the tax imposed on them and went away. Then came two Padrés of the St. Paul's church and the Padrés of the Capuchins' church and they went away after talking.

I could not present the petition about the sepoys' affair to-day because there was no council. I told Appu Mudali that it might be presented to-morrow if council met, and came home at eleven.

M. Gontin<sup>1</sup> the second Major sent for my Muttu Pillai this afternoon. He sent his

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<sup>1</sup> Described in Coote's List of Prisoners (Orme MSS. India, viii, p. 2002) as Major of Invalids.

younger brother Appâvu owing to a ceremony in his house. When he went, M. Gontin said, 'As the soldiers are starving, M. Lally said they might carry off grain and other provisions in several houses. I told him that he should not do so, and that I would send for the several people and get provisions. You must, therefore, write a list of the rice, ghi and other provisions in your house.' Appâvu replied, 'There are in my house 20 persons who need 20 measures of rice daily, and at that rate there is only rice on hand for 15 days.' M. Gontin replied, 'You will not speak the truth until you are asked properly. You will learn when I order the soldiers to plunder the house.' Appâvu repeated that his provisions would last only for 15 days, so he was ordered to go. I hear that my name and those of Savarirâya Pillai, Râmalinga Pillai and other selected persons—about 20 or 30 in all—have been written and that we shall be sent for and questioned.

M. Bussy's secretary arrived from Madras to-day. He met me beyond the Madras gate when I was driving out this evening, and said, 'M. Bussy and M. Kennely left for Europe by an English ship seven days ago and I came away three days after their departure. Mr. Pigot set out with five or six councillors,

dubâshes, 10 or 12 palankin-bearers, 1,000 sepoys, 200 horse and 2 guns and I followed them ; they went to Valudâvûr and I came here.' Pigot's arrival at Valudâvûr must be true, for 21 guns were fired there yesterday, and a like number at Villiyanallûr at sun-rise this morning. I hear that Pigot has come in order to blacken the faces of the Frenchmen who formerly announced that they had captured him.

*Sunday, August 24.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning and paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, as he was going to church to hear mass. He sent word that the Fort church should be opened and everything made ready for mass, but the Padré went and waited at the Capuchins' church thinking that M. Leyrit had said that he would go there. M. Leyrit went to the Fort church, but as he found it closed, he went to the Capuchins' church only to find that mass was over. In some anger he went at last to the St. Paul's church at ten o'clock, and, having heard mass along with the Tamils, thence went to M. Landivisiau's house, and after conversing with him, returned to the Fort.

Râmachandra Ayyan, Kandappa Mudali and Pâpayya Pillai's son came and talked

with me about the sepoy's affair. M. Guillard then came. I said, 'I hear that the Major, M. Gontin, says that people are to be ordered by beat of tom-tom to depart; that there are 100 people in my house who consume about 200 measures of rice daily or 6,000 measures a month; and that, as these 6,000 measures will suffice for 6,000 soldiers, only four persons should be allowed to remain in my house, and the rest directed to depart, while in the remaining houses only one should remain in each and the rest go.' M. Guillard observed, 'I know nothing of this, but suppose these orders to be M. Lally's, who will in 15 or 20 days, order the soldiers to plunder the place. But if such a thing is destined to happen, I would rather die alone now, since in three days' time we shall all perish for want of food.'—'Well,' I replied, 'if I am ordered to depart, let me receive Mr. Pigot's or Colonel Coote's passport and be pleased to write two letters, one to the Governor of Tranquebar, and the other to the Governor of Negapatam, desiring them kindly to protect the Company's people who are coming. During the former English troubles all left the town, but I alone remained helping the Company. M. Dupleix wrote about this to Europe, and replies came praising me. I and my relations have remained here, being unwilling to leave, but what

can I do when you yourselves want me to go ?' M. Guillard replied that he would tell all this to M. Leyrit at four o'clock. I continued, ' Did I not tell you three years ago that this town would recover like a ship righting herself again after having been tempest-tossed and almost sunk, or a delirious man coming back to life from the brink of death ?'—' True,' he replied, ' everything has fallen out as you said three years ago, but no signs of recovery can yet be seen.'—' You will see them just as you have seen the rest,' I replied. He went away, and I afterwards came home at eleven.

I hear that M. Lally has said he will not be able to receive visitors this evening or to-morrow for the King's name-day feast, as he intends to join the camp to-morrow and that M. Leyrit has been ordered to receive them. I shall see what happens to-morrow morning.

*Monday, August 25.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort to pay my respects to M. Lally the General and M. Leyrit, the Governor, for the King's name-day, but M. Lally had gone to the Olukarai garden with the Padré Bishop Noronha, having ordered M. Leyrit to celebrate the occasion with two salutes. At nine o'clock M. Leyrit, the Governor, the councillors and the King's men present here went to the Fort church to

hear mass. It is usual to burn incense and give offerings, and fire a salute half-way through mass and another at the end ; when Sacrament is blessed, another salute is fired. Thus it is usual to fire three salutes. According to custom, a salute was fired to-day during mass, and incense was burnt ; but that was all. After mass, all returned to the *Gouvernement* where a small table was set with food. All ate a little, and then, pouring liquor from bottles, they drank, thrice shouting '*Vive le roi*, Long live the King,' under a salute. The festival was celebrated last year by M. Lally when soldiers and officers were drawn up, the *tambour* beat, and three salutes were fired while the men uncovered. But this year, as M. Leyrit celebrated the festival though M. Lally is here, and as the soldiers are not to uncover to him, all the formalities were not observed.

I paid my respects to M. Leyrit, the Governor, with a bouquet. He took off his hat and saluted me respectfully and cheerfully. Kandappa Mudali and others were much surprised at such a salute, as they knew what our relations had been. I came home at eleven.

At two o'clock this afternoon I heard that M. Lally had returned after dining at the Olukarai garden.



*Tuesday, August 26.*<sup>1</sup>—M. Leyrit, M. Valarmée, and two or three writers were talking when I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. I paid my respects and he enquired the news. I said that there was nothing important and added that the Brâhman from the Râjâ of Kadattanâd near Mahé was still waiting for a reply to the Râjâ's cadjan letter. He asked what reply should be made. I replied that he knew best. 'You are the person,' he rejoined, 'that got the letter translated into French and therefore you know its [contents]. So tell me what reply should be written.' I replied, 'You know the affairs of that place and this, whereas I do not, so you should tell me.'—'Well,' he replied, 'I will tell you to-morrow.' I sent for the Brâhman and told him that the Governor had ordered him to wait for two or three days longer. I then dismissed him.

Afterwards M. Cornet came and said, 'When M. Pilavoine asked M. Dulaurens about something, the latter pushed him against the wall, seized him by the throat and struck him twice. Though we went and separated them, they still wanted to continue the fight; so an old officer and two or three writers present were desired to conduct M. Pilavoine to his house. The officer, in the

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<sup>1</sup> 14th Âvani, Vikrama.

King's name, drew his sword on which M. Dulaurens ceased fighting and went home ; but when M. Pilavoine was desired to go home, he replied obstinately that he would speak to M. Leyrit and, refusing to listen to any one, made his way to the *Gouvernement*. M. Leyrit on learning of his approach, went into his room, and fastened the door, telling the two European gunners with him to keep watch at the gate and send him away, saying that he (M. Leyrit) was busy. When M. Pilavoine was thus refused admission, he got into his palankin, saying that he would go to M. Lally, but the palankin-bearers were ordered to take him home.'

Râmachandra Râo and Kandappa Mudali then came to present a petition about the sepoys' affair, but they did not do so as there was no council. I talked about various matters and came home at eleven. The councillors did not attend and I heard no important news.

Some Europeans told me that Mr. Pigot, who has come to these parts, went to Cuddalore, and then accompanied Admiral Mr. Cornish, the captain of the ship, and his second who had been invited ashore by him, to Perumukkal, where a council was held at the camp with these and Colonel Coote in order to decide whether, after so much

expenditure, Pondichery should be attacked or not. They added they could not say how the matter would be decided.

In regard to the tax on the houses occupied by myself and others, I obtained receipts from the several *nâttârs* and made M. Clegg (second gumastah of M. Lally's Secretary at the *comptoir*) enter in the accounts that I had paid in 44 rupees for the *mahânâttârs*. I have receipts for the tax paid by those living in my houses.

When I drove out at half-past five this evening by way of Ariyânkuppam, I heard that about thirty sepoy, who had said they would depart because they had received no pay, in spite of warnings were about to go, when M. Pouly, who had learnt their design and reported it to M. Lally, arrived at Ariyânkuppam with the latter's orders, and threatened that certain sepoy would be chosen by lot for execution, and that one sepoy thus selected was blown from the cannon's mouth, the cannon ball piercing his chest.<sup>1</sup> Consequently his wife and children came weeping into town.

I hear that, when 100 sepoy were passing by Chunambâr and Muttirusa Pillai's Choultry

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<sup>1</sup> Selection for military punishment by lot was still frequent in the 18th century in cases of desertion or mutiny where a group of persons was implicated. See the Editor's *Nabobs of Madras*, p. 87.

with 1,000 cattle they had driven from Tiru-vennanallûr, about 100 English horse seized the cattle at a spot no further from our Nonan-kuppam battery than my house is from the tobacco-godown and drove them away, and that two or three of the 100 sepoy's who were driving the cattle but ran away, were seized and brought in by the European at the battery, charged with being in league with the English and betraying the cattle to them, while the rest of the sepoy's (who had run away) lagged behind.

The *Baleine* and the frigate *Compagnie des Indes* in the roads are making ready for sea ; and in the last four or five days, the galliot equipped as a bomb-battery has been emptied and sails hoisted very high. Thus three ships are being got ready, but I do not know the reason. I may learn it hereafter.

When I was at the *Gouvernement* in the Fort this afternoon, Kandappa Mudali, Râmachandra Ayyan, Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown and a few Christians were present. Râmachandra Ayyan said, 'When I went to M. Lally's house, the Padré Bishop Noronha, M. Pouly, M. Landivisiau and a few officers were waiting outside as M. Lally was in his room. The Bishop said, "M. Lally has read a gazette received from Europe saying that peace has been concluded in Europe between

the French and English, and that a French squadron has reached Mauritius to be followed by another with some treasure and men. Another strong squadron, capable of resisting the English or any one else, is also on its way with news of the conclusion of peace between the English and us. It will arrive in September, with orders recalling M. Lally, M. Leyrit and all the councillors, and appointing others in their stead. M. Lally also read the same news in the English gazette. The King, learning that the St. Paul's<sup>1</sup> priests had attempted to have him stabbed, ordered them to be seized and sent aboard ship to a certain island ; but the ship carrying them sank and all the Padrés were drowned. Orders for the seizure and despatch of the Padrés of the St. Paul's church here, and the destruction of the church will be received later."

' Innâsi Mutta Pillai who was near was called up and told of the disaster that has overtaken his priests. When M. Pouly, M. Landivisiau and certain other officers were asked if the news was true, and if M. Lally had read the gazette to them, they replied that the news was true. M. Lally then came out and asked if the gazette had been sent to M. Leyrit. He was told it would be sent.'

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Jesuits. Cf. vol. xi, pp. 49-50 *supra*.

*Wednesday, August 27.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Renault, M. Le Maire, and two others were talking with M. Leyrit, the Governor, who was angry with M. Le Maire. I paid my respects with a bouquet, which, in the midst of his anger, he accepted politely and smelt ten or twenty times. Kandappa Mudali and Râmachandra Ayyan who noticed this observed that he smelt at it to hint that I should give him a bouquet every day. When I stood there, M. La Gronée came. He and M. Leyrit went in to talk. I went aside and talked with Kandappa Mudali and Râmachandra Ayyan. Just then, Shaikh Dukki, the sepoy commandant came, and said, ‘When the sepoy commanded their pay, one of them was blown from a gun ; and as M. Lally has ordered the remaining 30 sepoy and their commandant Albert<sup>2</sup> to be seized and shut up in the dungeon, M. Dubois has gone about it.’ When we were talking thus, M. Dubois who with M. Gadeville had shut up the 30 sepoy in the dungeon, came and talked with M. Leyrit.

Afterwards news came to [M. Leyrit] that the English were raising strong batteries near Thattân Choultry north of M. Barthélemy’s

<sup>1</sup> 15th Āvani, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose an Indian Christian

garden near Olukarai. He replied, 'Nothing was done when Valudâvûr fort was captured and then Villiyanallûr fort ; moreover though some 100 men are raising fortifications close to us, no one is sent to prevent it. So what can I do now ?' I came home at eleven.

I hear that, on the day of the King's feast, an Englishman (I do not know whether he came from Cuddalore or landed from a ship) delivered an English letter to M. Leyrit, in the presence of M. Moracin and M. Law ; M. Leyrit gave it to M. Law who read it in French, after which [M. Leyrit] went in joyfully, brought ten pagodas, gave them to the European along with two loaves of bread, two bottles of liquor and some meat, and so dismissed him. These things would not have been given if the news had been false, nor would he have given his own pagodas but for good news. There must have been talk of peace between the English and French ; that is why [*lost.*]

As English horse appeared in Kâttumêttu, Kôttaikuppam in the north, and as far as the Bound-hedge, a gun was fired from the Bounds, so the English horse retired.

I hear that the English are raising fortifications to-day by the Nâyak's tank.

When I drove out in the evening on the Cuddalore road, a certain man who had come

from Cuddalore told me that Mr. Pigot and Mr. Colonel Coote went on Sunday to Cuddalore, where they dined, and in the evening went on board ship to talk with Admiral Mr. Cornish, staying on board till Monday afternoon when they returned to Cuddalore that evening, and stayed there till Tuesday evening, intending to return to camp.

*Thursday, August 28.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. M. Leyrit, the Governor, Father Lavaur, and M. Renault the Director in Bengal were talking. I paid my respects with a bouquet. He returned his compliments, smelling the bouquet about fifty times. I waited there about a quarter of an hour, but went aside afterwards, as the three were talking.

The Nayinâr and the Choultry-writers came and said, ' We went to M. Leyrit, the Governor, as we were told he had sent for us, but he told us to go to M. Dubois who said that we must bring all the cattle in the town. When we said we could not, we were asked who we were ; and when we replied that one was Nayinâr the head-peon, and the others, the Choultry-writers, we were told to accompany him to M. Leyrit.' The Choultry-writers observed that



the Nayinâr had been ordered in M. Leyrit's presence, to send men to collect cattle, while they (the Choultry-writers) had been ordered to depart. They lamented how ill the times were, when such as they had been ordered to collect and bring in cattle. I replied that nothing could happen but according to the times. No one else came. M. Boyelleau went away after talking with M. Leyrit. I came home at half-past ten.

The cattle in the European quarter having been seized in the last few days, to-day Europeans are seizing the cattle in the Tamils' houses.

M. Leyrit and M. Courtin visited M. Lally's house this evening and talked with him till eight o'clock. I do not know the subject of their conversation, but shall learn it and write.

*Friday, August 29.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the *Gouvernement* at the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, I heard that M. Leyrit who awoke at eight o'clock, closed his doors and went to sleep again.

M. Boyelleau then came and asked the news. 'What news?' I replied, 'There is not much talk about his departure<sup>2</sup> and all depends on the arrival of ships.' He replied,

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<sup>1</sup>17th *Avani*, *Vikrama*

<sup>2</sup>Perhaps Leyrit's or Lally's.

‘What are you talking of? Don’t you know that this is the end of everything?’ So saying he departed. I then waited at the sorting-godown.

Kandappa Mudali came there and said, ‘I complained about the seizure of the cattle in my house, and stated that my children would die for want of butter-milk. As they cried bitterly, a cow with calf was left with me, but the other three cows with their calves have been driven away. The cattle in Periyanna Mudali’s house have also been driven away by cow-men.’ Thus Kandappa Mudali gave vent to his difficulties.

Afterwards Sônâchala Pillai came and asked Kandappa Mudali for a dress of honour to be given to ‘Alî Khân. As Kandappa Mudali had none to give, he came and asked me, so I sent one which was returned on the ground that it was not good enough. I waited till eleven o’clock and then came home. There was no important news.

Some Europeans always used to come to the Fort, but to-day there was no one, not even a fly or a crow.

Venkatârâma Chetti (Mêlugiri Chetti’s elder brother) whom I put in charge of the silver-refining department at the mint, having died last night, the corpse was burnt at about ten

o'clock this morning. I paid a visit of condolence at his house this evening.

Trooper 'Alî Khân was presented with a dress of honour and given an order appointing him to the command of 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot. It is said that, by M. Lally's orders, he, Razâ Sâhib and Bishop Padré Noronha set out this evening for Gingee but that 'Alî Khân was recalled in order that he might go with M. Lally in three days' time.

*Saturday, August 30.*<sup>1</sup>—Nayinammâl, a *Sumangali*<sup>2</sup>, and daughter of Tirumalai Pillai<sup>3</sup> (Perambûr Mahârâja Râjasrî Tiruvêngada Pillai's<sup>4</sup> elder brother's son) died at eight o'clock this morning. Her corpse was cremated at ten. She was 45 years of age and has left no son or daughter. She was so wise that even learned pandits could not answer her questions. But who can overcome Death? She died having reached the predestined term of life; during her life-time she served her father well; and has died on the 25th day after his death. On account of her death, I did not go out to-day.

Till now, Pariahs and Europeans have kept within bounds, refraining from entering the

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<sup>1</sup> 18th *Avani*, *Vikrama*.

<sup>2</sup> A married woman; one wearing the *tâlî* or marriage badge.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii, p. 263 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> The Diarist's father.

Tamils' houses, but for the last three days they have transgressed all bounds, entering the houses, and penetrating into the kitchens, on the pretext of their orders to drive off the cattle. They have done all but expelling the inmates and plundering the houses, and in future they may do even that. All this is due to the badness of the time.

It was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom to-day that the fields outside need not be sown with paddy ; I think that that has been done only as a pretext to plunder the houses and carry away paddy therein.

The festival<sup>1</sup> is not to be celebrated this year at Ariyânkuppam but at the St. Paul's church.

*Sunday, August 31.*<sup>2</sup>—I did not go out to-day owing to turban-'ying<sup>3</sup> after Nayinam-mâl's death yesterday.

I heard this afternoon that the great council<sup>4</sup> which met at nine o'clock this morning and broke up at three, was attended by the councillors, *sous-marchands*, other individuals, the St. Paul's priests, the Capuchins'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. i, p. 236, n. *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> 19th *Ârâni. Vikrama*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. iv, p. 331, n. 2, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> See Lally's letter of August 31, 1760, *ap. Lally's Mémoire Pièces*, No. 76, or Leyrit's *Mémoire*, p. 521. It recites the opposition with which his measures had been met, and concludes by resigning his powers. The Council resolved that it lacked authority to accept this resignation.

priests and those of the Mission church. Certain Europeans said that the council met about the letter which M. Lally sent to M. Leyrit saying that he was not desirous of continuing in his command, that M. Leyrit might take charge of it, and that, as he had decided to resign, the officers being King's men, could not obey him (M. Leyrit) because he was the Company's man, and resigned their commissions also. In reply to this note, M. Leyrit and others, high and low, replied as follows :—'Have we the power to accept or refuse anything? You came here from Europe by the King's orders and as master managed all affairs as you pleased. How can you therefore now give up your place? Neither do we want it.' This reply they sent by the secretary who brought the letter. M. Lally replied to this letter saying that he should recall the soldiers and Europeans at the Olukarai church and the Bound-hedge within the walls. They responded, 'Have matters gone so ill as to recall them? Are the English pressing them hard? No, they are doing little. As our people are outside, a few provisions are brought in stealthily, by day or night; but should they withdraw, the English at the Perumbai hill, Barthélemy's garden and Villiyanallûr will flock to the gate and not the least thing will come in from outside. So the troops should

not be recalled.' To this M. Lally replied, ' You have told such and such persons that I sold Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr and am about to deliver Pondichery to the English. The St. Paul's priests have said the same thing. I must carry things as I think best, and what can you do ? What business have you in the Fort ? ' Consequent on this angry reply, a council was held but no decision was reached, and how the matter will end remains to be seen.

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## SEPTEMBER 1760.

*Monday, September 1.*<sup>1</sup>—As M. Lally sent word to them yesterday that they could not remain in the Fort but must leave it, and that, if they remained, he should punish them suitably, they were at a loss what reply to give ; but M. Leyrit, thinking that this was aimed specially at him, to-day despatched his goods to the house of M. Véry who was commandant a Âlambarai, and says that he shall go thither to-morrow night. I hear that M. Leyrit is very much put out. For the last five or six days the townspeople have been preparing to leave the town after selling their grain, etc., and some are actually departing. I hear that M. Leyrit, the Governor, and the councillors are [*page torn*].

*Tuesday, September 2.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. M. Leyrit who had returned at seven o'clock after inspecting M. Véry's house, and M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau and M. Duplant, the councillors, held a council in order to decide about those who have died or departed. Kandappa Mudali and Appu Mudali suggested that we should present the petition about the sepoys' affair. I replied, 'I have heard Tadiyâ Pillai say that, when

<sup>1</sup> 20th Ârani, Vikrama.<sup>2</sup> 21st Ârani, Vikrama.

two Vellâla sepoy's referred to the affair, M. Gadoville said that pay for August might be got from us, that we need not be asked about that for September, and that each sepoy would be given a measure of rice and three *dukkânis*<sup>1</sup> from the month of September.' -- 'This is true. [*About thirteen lines lost.*]' Kandappa Mudali gave M. Leyrit the petition addressed to him and Appu Mudali gave M. Guillard that addressed to the council. They received them and said that they would give orders after discussion at the council. When M. Duplant came out of the Council Room, Periyanna Mudali explained his business to him, asking me at the same time to speak to him about it. M. Duplant replied that, since M. Lally for the last two or three days had been aiming at their ruin, he could not expect his affair to prosper. He then departed. M. Dubois then coming, he was told that two petitions had been written about the sepoy's affair, one to M. Leyrit and the other to the council, and asked to do his best to explain the contents and see that the affair prospered. Before he went in, they begged

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<sup>1</sup> The cash which was then constantly referred to up and down the Coast, was a mere coin of account. The copper money which passed from hand to hand was known as *dukkânis*, *dubbs* or *doodoos*. At Madras these were given to the fanam, at Pondichery 20.



again that he should kindly bring the petitions to the notice of M. Leyrit and the council, and to speak to M. Leyrit and the councillors so that the affair might prosper. Afterwards M. Dubois came out and said, 'If M. Lally heard of these petitions, he would get angry and ask, "Am I *dorai* or they? Who are these people and how dare they to put in petitions?" So the affair would be ruined. It will be better to manage the matter through M. Gadeville, and I will speak to him. It must not be taken to M. Lally's notice.' So saying he set out for M. Lally's. I observed to Kandappa Mudali, Appu Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, and Râmachandra Ayyan, 'You would not listen to me when I told you that it would be no use to present the petition. Just see what M. Dubois said now. Did he not tell you that M. Gadeville should be informed of the affair and asked to manage it? M. Gadeville said that you should be asked to provide the pay for August but not for September, that the sepoys had been told accordingly, and that M. Lally had desired you to be asked to manage the month's pay but no more. But you would not agree when I said that the petition should not be presented. Have they been able to settle the affair now that it has been? So say no more about the petition.' Kandappa Mudali wanted to present the

petition as he thought that, if he did so, M. Leyrit would speak on his behalf ; and Periyanna Mudali thought that M. Duplant would speak on his behalf. The council broke up at twelve, and the councillors came out. When questioned, M. Guillard said, ' When we are at the point of death, how can you expect your affair to prosper ? ' and M. Duplant said, ' The time of ruin is at hand.' I said, ' When they speak thus, what affair can prosper ? But you are obstinate.' Appu Mudali said that he would speak to the Bishop Padré. I told him that he had better wait to learn what M. Gadeville said, as he was reported to have spoken about the matter. Appu Mudali replied, ' Never mind ; we will speak about it. Please come to-morrow.' I agreed and came home at half-past twelve.

The English ships in the Cuddalore roads loaded and [fired] their guns in derision of us. Our people, hoping that our ships had arrived and attacked the English, flocked to the beach to watch the fight. But as the English ships here lay motionless, I think that the report of our ships' arrival must be false.

When M. Leyrit, the Governor, and the councillors came out after council, they looked pale as death ; had they been scratched, no blood would have come, so pale they were.

M. Leyrit informed the council of his intention to move to M. Véry's house to-night to which the councillors replied, 'M. Lally has already spoken hundreds of times like this, so his words must not be taken literally. He says whatever comes into his head. So you should not go now. You might have gone formerly, but you did not do so. If you went now, it would look as though you went out of fear. You may go if he tells you to ; but otherwise you should not.' So he has postponed going to-day. I do not know what will happen.

*Wednesday, September 3.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. M. Leyrit was in his room with closed doors. All the Europeans who had come had gone away again. M. Guillard and a few others there talked in M. La Grenée's *comptoir* and then departed. M. Boyelleau who then came, went up to the *Gouvernement* and thence to the sorting-godown. When he asked the news, I said that there was nothing important. He continued, 'When we fell into this pit, we thought we should perish in 50 days, but now I think it will only be 45. Do you understand me ?'—'Yes,' I replied. He continued, 'We are sure to have perished by then. The

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<sup>1</sup> 22nd Aśvini, Vikrama.

Europeans who came to drive cattle from our houses showed me less respect than they showed to you. They entered my house, and opened and examined every room; when I said that I had not the key of one room, they broke it open. This is the respect the seigneurs showed in my house. But I hear that, when they visited you, they said nothing about the cattle, but went away after talking to you.' I made no answer. He then called M. La Grenée and said, 'Don't you see how differently the cattle-drivers behaved to me and to Ranga Pillai when they entered our houses?' Thinking that they were only seeking evidence, I thought it best to depart, so I took leave and came home.

M. Lally and some European dragoons who marched last night and attacked the English halting in M. Barthélemy's garden, returned victoriously having wounded 10 or 15 Englishmen, and taken one of their guns and 20 or 30 draught-bullocks. About 10 of our men were wounded.

*Thursday, September 4.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, M. Leyrit was in his room with the doors closed. M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau and a few Europeans, hearing that M. Leyrit's doors were closed, remained

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<sup>1</sup> 23rd *Avani*, *Vikrama*.

talking for some time in the sorting-godown and then departed. M. Guillard alone said to me that the time was ruinous. 'No such thing,' I replied, 'for ships will arrive this month and affairs will prosper. God will bless us so far. If ships do not arrive this month, ruin is certain.'

Appu Mudali, Periyanna Mudali and Chinna Mudali who had met in order to ask M. Dubois about the sepoys' affair, sent for me. I said that my palankin-bearers had gone away to eat their cold rice. Tâniyappa Mudali sent word back that he had palankin-bearers, whom he would send, and that affairs would be spoiled if I refused to come. So I went and they said, 'We conferred with the *Padré* Bishop yesterday. He said, "In M. Dubois' presence I spoke to M. Lally about the sepoys' affair. He said that until the ships arrived, the sepoys must be paid, but I reminded him of what he had said already that, if they paid for August, they would not be asked from September onwards. Thereon he told M. Dubois that he might ask them to pay only for August. You had better therefore go to M. Dubois and thank him." Let us go and talk to M. Dubois.' I replied, 'The *Padré*'s words are not to be trusted, for he is a great liar. He spoke so about certain other affairs, but his words proved false. So we should not

go on the strength of what he says.'—'Don't say so,' they replied. 'Inasmuch as he has spoken thus, we should go and confer with him.' So I accompanied them, but, when the affair was mentioned, he said he would reply when he had consulted M. Gadeville. He then went to M. Gadeville's, and, returning after about two hours, said nothing and went home. They went and salaamed in order to learn why he had gone away without a word. He said, 'M. Gadeville says that you should pay till the squadron arrives; and when I reminded him of what he had said before that it would do if money for the August pay was given, he replied evasively. You had better therefore present a petition to M. Lally and I will explain to him.' This reply abashed them. I said, 'This is the result of your not listening to me. When a petition was presented to the council, the councillors asked what you could expect when they themselves were on the brink of ruin. I then told you to keep quiet. But you would not listen to me, and went and talked to the Padré Bishop, in spite of my telling you of what M. Dubois had said. Louche and the sepoys are repeating what M. Gadeville told them. I have heard and you also that you will be asked to give money for the August pay but not for September or later. But you did not listen to me when

I told you to wait. Though M. Gadoville is hasty, yet he will talk plainly ; but this man out of selfish motives, talks in a slippery manner. But although I repeatedly told you of this, you refused to listen to me, with the result that you have been caught now.' All remained silent, and went to their respective homes with their fingers in their mouths. I also came home.

*Friday, September 5.*<sup>1</sup>—I heard the following news at six o'clock this morning :—Our people at Perumâl Nâyakkan's and Ella Pillai's Choultries fell last night upon the English who had raised batteries at the Mortândi Choultry. Some of the English troopers who lay in ambush opened fire, killing 10 or 15 of our men and 10 or 12 of our horses, and wounding 10 or 15 more. Our people therefore retreated. M. Lally was at the Padré's church at Olukarai, but did not march to attack the English.

When I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau, etc., were present. M. Leyrit was in his room, but his door was not opened till half-past ten. M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau and others after waiting for some time went home. When the door was opened at eleven, a few Europeans

obtained signatures and went away. I did not visit him and came home at eleven. I have heard no important news.

A 24-pounder and three powder-chests were sent out by way of Olukarai, but I do not know whither they were taken.

*Saturday, September 6.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. M. Leyrit's room was closed. When the door was opened at ten, I went and paid my respects and stayed aside. M. [Dulaurens] and M. Cornet who then came, went to their *comptoir* to write. M. Dubois came at half-past ten, and, after talking, went to M. Lally's house. M. Boyolleau then came with letters, and having obtained signatures, went home. Nobody afterwards came to the *Gouvernement* or the Fort. I came home at eleven.

When I was at home, Kandappa Mudali and Bâpu Râo of the tobacco-godown came. The former said, 'When I went to M. Dubois and talked to him the day before yesterday about the sepoys' affair, he said, "When I told M. Leyrit that neither Gadeville nor others could do anything but that I was managing everything, M. Leyrit replied that the French squadron was expected in five or six days, that afterwards I and others who

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<sup>1</sup> 25th *Āvani*, *Vikrama*.



had suffered much would prosper by God's grace, and that as I knew too well his relations with M. Lally, he should not interfere in the affair or say anything." Bâpu Râo observed, "By that time, our affairs will be ruined. Everything is very dear in the town. Lamp oil sells at 5 seers a pagoda, and gingelly oil at 6. Ghi sells at one seer *per* five fanams. Only 8 or 10 arecanuts can be had for a fanam, of dyed<sup>1</sup> nut only a palam, of green-gram, black-gram and dholl only three-fourths of a small measure a fanam. Red chillies sell at three palams a fanam; and these things, though priced so high, cannot be had for every one. Five or six days ago, people left the town selling their paddy at two and a half, two and three-fourths or three measures a fanam, and taking the fanams with them. Paddy now sells at two small measures a fanam." When Kandappa Mudali and Bâpu Râo were relating the above to me, the son of M. Renault, the Director in Bengal, came, so the two went and talked to him. As it was then eleven o'clock, I wished to return home. Kandappa Mudali accompanied me up to the room in the *Greffe* and took leave of me. I then came home. The townspeople are leaving the town daily in small numbers. Many left

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<sup>1</sup> Arecanut cut into small pieces, boiled with some medicinal ingredients and dried.

to-day. When I was at the Fort, M. Renault's son said, 'How is it that Subbâ Jôsier's predictions have proved false? Not a single one of his predictions has been realised.'—'How then is astrology to be believed.' I replied.

I saw this evening two [ ] guns and chests of powder being carried to Olukarai. As people are going out to-day changing their fanams into pagodas, and as those still here are doing the same, the rate of exchange is 377 rupees instead of 361 *per* 100 pagodas. If this is the rate of crescent pagodas, star pagodas must be dearer still.

Five or six days ago, a [?Portuguese] European came to me and said, 'M. Lally has ordered you, Appu Mudali, Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, Pâpayya Pillai, Chinna Mudali, Râmachandra Râo and Sônâchala Pillai to engage six Brâhman harkaras<sup>1</sup> each.' I told him that not a single Brâhman harkara was to be found, as all had gone away. He replied that he had been told to get Tamil harkaras if no Brâhmins could be had, and that they should be put under the chief harkara's charge. The European then went away. When I informed the several persons of this, they said that harkaras could not be found; but Sônâchala Pillai said that he would

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<sup>1</sup> Brâhmins were usually employed as messengers owing to their inviolable character.

try. I engaged six Tamil harkaras through head-peon Ponnappa who was a spy in Madame Dupleix' time, and paid him six rupees; but these six harkaras were not sent to me, and when I made enquiries, I was told that excuses were being given daily. [*Two or three words lost.*]

*Sunday, September 7.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, and paid my respects to M. Leyrit upstairs on his return after hearing mass at church. He bowed in reply. No councillor accompanied him, but only M. Valarmée, writer at the Beach, a few other writers and some others. M. Guillard came at half-past nine and left after talking with him. No one else came. I stayed till ten and then came home.

The European *mestice* who is captain of M. Lally's harkaras came to my house. I told him that I had not been in charge of business for the last ten years, and that therefore I knew nothing. So saying, I dismissed him with compliments. He left and nothing else important occurred.

I hear that Louche, the sepoy-writer, was imprisoned at the Choultry yesterday, after his accounts had been examined, on the charges of misappropriating 3,000 rupees in

the sepoy's' affair and another 3,000 rupees in another affair, besides something in two bills for 15,000 and 6,000 rupees each. Kuppi Nâyakkan who is captain of my sepoy's has been shut up in the dungeon.

The man from Madras says that Mr. Pigot, the Governor of Madras, by means of 40 persons [*torn*] 1,30,000 pagodas have been paid, that 70,000 pagodas will be paid in the stipulated time,<sup>1</sup> that provisions are dear and that [*page torn*].

*Monday, September 8.*<sup>2</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. As the Ariyânkuppam festival is being celebrated at the St. Paul's church, M. Leyrit went there to-day to hear mass said, received blessings, and returned to the Fort in a palankin accompanied by two chobdars, two or three peons and a head-peon. His looks were downcast. When I paid my respects to him with a bouquet, he asked the news. I replied that the townspeople were going out as things could not be had, and that, as those

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<sup>1</sup> This refers to the endeavours at Madras to raise a loan to meet the expenses of the war. On 18 August the sowcars and merchants had been summoned before Council, and asked to advance a lakh of pagodas; but they proved "very backward to assist the Company", and the Nawâb was asked if he could raise a lakh (*Military Consultations*, 18 August, 1760). A later reference (*Public Consultations*, 27 October 1760) shows that Pigot only succeeded in getting 32,000 pagodas from the merchants. Luckily for the English, remittances from Bengal arrived on 26 September.

<sup>2</sup> 27th *Avani*, *Vikrama*.

who had gone out five or six days ago, had sold what they had and carried away the proceeds with them, paddy which formerly sold at 3 or  $2\frac{3}{4}$  measures a fanam, could not now be had even at two measures a fanam, so that, unless the squadron arrived in 15 days, [*page torn*]; otherwise no one would be left. 'We have no hope,' he replied, 'unless the squadron arrives in 15 days.'

M. Guillard and another afterwards came and talked with M. Leyrit, so I came out and sat outside. M. Leyrit called me and said, 'Makdhûm Nâyakkan (Mysore Haidar Nâyakkan's brother-in-law) who formerly appeared before Villiyanallûr, went afterwards to Tyâgadrug on its being given as a jaghir, then came back, went to Ariyânkuppam and returned after visiting the Fort and obtaining presents. On what date did he leave?' I mentioned the date. He replied that what I said differed from his entry, and that I should send him a French writing about it. I agreed and came out. M. Guillard came to me after talking, and in the course of our conversation, he said, 'Don't you see that there is nobody in the Fort? Nothing can be had in the town—good fowl, sheep or fish. Such is the state of the town.' He thus expressed his anxiety. After talking till eleven o'clock, he got into his palankin and went home, and I also

returned home. Immediately afterwards, I wrote down the dates of Makdhûm Nâyakan's arrival and departure.

M. Lally came on May 1<sup>1</sup>, 1758, and he has sent to the Company in Europe an account of expenses up to June [*sic*] 1, 1759, amounting to 12,668,664 rupees and some odd [annas]. I shall write the expenditure from July 1, 1759 to July 1, 1760, when I learn it.

As the Company's people had ordered the cattle in the town to be seized, Muttu (M. Saubinet's dubâsh) hid three cows in Blanc's house ; the latter asked Muttu to pay something, but the latter refused, and removed them. Duplant afterwards went to M. Dubois and asked why Muttu had driven away three cows which he had concealed. Dubâsh Muttu was sent for and told to deliver up the three cows, and give the names of those whose cattle had been sent out. He was then ordered to be shut up in the dungeon which was done accordingly.

A peon came and told me this afternoon that M. Courtin wanted me. When I went at three, he said, ' We must find out how many people are in the town, so send for some of the Choultry-writers and tell them to write out a list showing how many men, women and

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<sup>1</sup> Actually, April 28.

children are in the several houses in the town. Nothing is known about the coming of our ships.'—'Very well,' I replied ; 'but besides the Choultry-writers, there are the several heads of castes, and it will be better to ask them to write out the list.'—'Tell them then,' he said. 'Shall I send for them here ?' I asked. 'That's not necessary,' he replied ; 'let them be summoned to your house and told to write the list without delay.'

He added, 'You know that nobody has done so much to help the town as I. M. Lally said that he would not permit any one to go out, but I told him that those who wished to go should be permitted, and got his leave to that effect.' I replied, 'Who can help like you ? Of those who have already gone out, some have returned. But for the last eight or ten days, people have been going out. More than half the townspeople have gone.'—'Let those go who want to go,' he replied ; 'I have given orders about it.' I said that no other was so kind to the people, and then took leave of him. When I was coming down the steps, I met the Nayinâr and told him to come to my house with the *nâttârs* and Choultry-writers, and then went to M. Leyrit at the Fort, gave him the French writing which I had been ordered to bring, about the coming of Mysore Makdhûm Nâyakkan's troops and

their departure, and reported what M. Courtin had told me. 'Is it so?' he said; 'formerly Kandappa Mudali and Savarirâya Pillai wanted permission to go, but I refused lest I should be blamed. Now he pleads for them, saying how they can go and where they are to remain. Just see what he has done; tell me, sir, his object.' I continued, 'There are about 100 of my people, men and women. In order to help them to go out, I want two letters, one to the Governor of Negapatam and the other to the Governor of Tranquebar, saying that Company's people are coming, and that they should be protected, and an English passport given for their safety on the way, although they will go with only cloths over their heads.'<sup>1</sup> He replied, 'I cannot write [the letters], but I will give you a letter from the council to the Governor of Tranquebar. I cannot get you another English passport, for it is difficult to get one.' Then I came home.

Afterwards the Choultry-writers, the Nayinâr and the *nâttârs* of the several castes came. I told them to write out a list of men, women and children in the several streets and bring it quickly.

*Tuesday, September [9].*<sup>2</sup>—At nine o'clock this morning, I went to the Fort about the

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<sup>1</sup> i.e., with nothing to provoke plundering.

<sup>2</sup> 28th *Âvani*, *Vikrama*.



palankin-bearers required by the Company, and paid my respects to M. Leyrit with a bouquet. For the last eight days he has not worn the air of a Governor but of one who has lost his government. There has been no life in him, and to-day he was pitiable to see. However I reminded him of my yesterday's request to get a passport to which he replied, 'M. Lally sent word to me last night that four English ships have arrived with 500 soldiers and some sepoy's at Cuddalore<sup>1</sup>, and that in 15 days, Pondichery will have to be surrendered to the English. So what business can be done?' As he spoke thus, I came out in order to make further enquiries about it. I met a European gentleman who said, 'At eight o'clock last night, M. Lally sent for M. Moracin and M. Courtin and told them to inform M. Leyrit that four English ships had arrived at Cuddalore with 500 soldiers and some sepoy's, and that therefore Pondichery will have to be delivered into English hands in 15 days. They went and informed M. Leyrit accordingly. M. Leyrit replied, "He has sent me word for my information, but I know that

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<sup>1</sup> Coote writes on 5 September, that on the previous day 150 Marines and the Highland battalion had landed at Cuddalore (*Military Consultations*, 7 September 1760). The vessels were H.M.S.S. America, 64, Medway, 60, Liverpool, 28, and South Sea Castle, store ship (Letter from Steevens, 5 September, *ap. Military Consultations*, 8 September, 1760).

so long as we have a drop of French blood left, we will not give up the town." They informed M. Lally of the reply. But M. Lally sent answer back to the effect that, in 15 days, the town would have to be delivered to the English, and that he would bet 15,000 rupees on it. M. Leyrit replied, "Can I bet 15,000 rupees? You are master of everything, so you can do as you please. What can I therefore say?"

Afterwards I went to the sorting-godown where I met Râmachandra Ayyan and Kandappa Mudali. The latter said, 'When I spoke to M. Leyrit of my departure, he said that, as ships were expected in eight days, I should not inconvenience myself by going out with my family.' Although I spoke to M. Leyrit yesterday, I did not like to inform these people of what he said yesterday and to-day, so I kept quiet. But they repeated to me unasked what M. Lally had said to M. Leyrit and the latter's reply. When we were talking thus about our miseries, the former prosperity of the town, and its approaching downfall, M. Boyelleau, M. La Grenée and M. Denis were writing in the *comptoir* after examining the accounts. M. La Grenée came and reminded me of what had been said yesterday about the coming of Mysore Makdhûm Nâyakkan's troops and their departure. I gave him the French writing about it. Taking it, he thanked me, and went

away saying that the closing of the letters for Europe had been delayed for want of this. Then I came home at eleven, to-day being New-moon day.

For the last two or three days, the English have been firing from near Barthólemy's garden, and the French from near the Olukarai church, but the shots have all fallen short without injuring anybody on either side.

*Wednesday, September 10.*<sup>1</sup>—The English army which marched last night by way of Mortândi Choultry surprised our 50 soldiers with four guns at Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry. There was heavy firing on both sides. Afterwards our troops retreated from Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry leaving their guns in the batteries, which the English took and advanced up to my garden at Sâram where Mangathâyi<sup>2</sup> was burnt. The townspeople went and watched this. Afterwards the English attacked our troops at Ella Pillai's Choultry at Olukarai, whereon the latter retreated to the tamarind tope on the road to Ariyânkuppam. M. Lally grew angry with M. Dure and M. Trinquière<sup>3</sup> saying that they were useless, and

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<sup>1</sup> 29th *Āraṇi*, *Vikramam*.

<sup>2</sup> The Diarist's wife who died on April 18, 1756, vol. x, p. 61 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> I am very doubtful of this identification. The text has "Dir-ankêr", which corresponds accurately enough; but Trinquière was a mere lieutenant, whom one would not expect to find mentioned in this connection. I think d'Harembure, the Commandant of the *Bataillon de l'Inde* and in disgrace for the failure of Lally's attack on the 3rd, is more likely to be intended.

appointed M. Fumel as commander, besides giving appointments to M. Landivisiau and others, and directing them to conduct matters. When the Europeans were mustered, 10 or 15 were found to have been wounded and 4 or 5 killed; the numbers were otherwise complete. As the English have occupied the ground up to the Bound-hedge, the townspeople are alarmed. Some say that the town cannot hold out but will pass into English hands, but others say that, as there are troops at Gingee, there is no danger of the town's falling into English hands, and that, though they have occupied the Perumbai hill, and now advanced up to Bound-hedge, they will retire in 10 days. Thus each expressed his thoughts.

I also heard that our people would attack the English to-night. After making the necessary arrangements, M. Lally, having obtained M. Leyrit's leave to occupy the vintner's garden which is by the Villiyanallūr Gate and which M. Leyrit had engaged for himself, moved into it; thence he went to the Fort, then went up to the *Gouvernement* by way of the north-east battery, and ordered M. Laiglon [?], the master-gunner who is in charge of the bullock-carts that accompanied M. Lally, to mount the flagstaff at the *Gouvernement* and find out where the English army lay encamped. He climbed up therefore with a telescope and

reported where the army was. Thereon shouts of '*Vive le Roi*' were ordered, and M. Lally returned to his lodging by the way he had come. M. Leyrit had made ready to see M. Lally, on learning that he had come to the Fort, and also sent for the councillors. They came accordingly and waited on the stairs and in the road ; but M. Lally had departed by the battery. M. Leyrit, the Governor, dashed his hat on the floor and bit his nails, exclaiming with anger, 'See, the English will take the Bound-hedge.' The councillors too were much moved.

At midnight, about 200 sailors who had disembarked, and a few Europeans and sepoys here—500 in all—were ordered to march northwards at midnight with two cannon to attack the English ; but the latter, being on their guard, fired two or three cannon and guns, on which the French troops, being unprepared, retired.

Kandappa Mudali and Periyanna Mudali came to me and asked what should be done about sending out their families and mine, Kandappa Mudali adding that the Governor had strictly warned him not to go out. As they asked me what was best to be done, I said, 'You should not go without a passport or securing temporary quarters. I have already sent men to the north and south about it,

When Razâ Sahib's man [ ] came and said that he had orders to ascertain from me what should be done about sending away his family and children, I replied, "This is not the proper time for it. He should first take sufficient precautions and secure quarters. If he is willing to go to Vellore, his town, I will do what I can, and send my children also in his care. If he is bold enough, let him go ; but otherwise, it is better to remain here, instead of running the danger of falling into their hands and being troubled by them. Everything will happen as God wills. Moreover, in case he remains and the town does not fall, the French will remember that he was true to their salt ; or even if the English capture the place, they may treat him kindly, on the ground that he proved true to the French by staying here. "'

*Thursday, September 11.*<sup>1</sup>—I went and paid my respects to M. Leyrit at the Fort at nine o'clock this morning. He asked the news. 'What can I say,' I replied, 'when you know everything?' M. Leyrit shook his head and answered, 'I say that our ships will arrive because of a letter that has been received from there. Moreover we should have heard by a frigate from Mauritius if ships were not to be

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<sup>1</sup> 30th *Avani*, *Vikrama*.

expected ; but inasmuch as a letter has been received from Mauritius, when they had learnt the state of affairs here, to the effect that the ships will be fitted and despatched with all the money available there, I am sure they will come.' I replied that God would grant my prayers for the arrival of the ships.

Afterwards M. Dubois came on foot carrying his own roundel, and talked to M. Leyrit, so I came out. Bâpu Râo, Sônâchalam Pillai and others were present. On learning that certain houses had caught fire near Vîrâmpattanam, I watched them for some time and then came down. M. Boyelleau who was there said, ' You are very fortunate in having refused to interfere in business both before and even after I had taken you to M. Lally and pressed you in his presence to manage these affairs. In prosperous times, you earned great glory by attending to everything ; and now, when the times are bad, you have earned more glory by refusing to take part in any business. That is why we have been saying among ourselves, both yesterday and the day before, that you are lucky.' I explained the reason to him for about an hour and then took leave. On my way I met M. Courtin who asked whether a list had been made of the inmates in the several houses. I replied

that it was almost finished. 'Then, have it brought quickly,' he replied. 'As you please,' I answered, and came home at eleven.

At midnight to-night the sound of our guns was heard, but not afterwards.

The townspeople looked quite different to-day, the brightness of their looks having entirely disappeared, because they are completely under the evil influence of Saturn.

*Friday, September 12.*<sup>1</sup>—This morning M. Lally and M. Leyrit mounted the northern rampart by the Valudâvûr gate, inspected the walls up to the corner battery, whence some 10 or 15 guns in all were fired on seeing the English in large numbers near my garden. After talking for some time, they returned by the Valudâvûr gate at ten o'clock towards the Villiyanallûr gate. As they had thus gone out, I did not go to the Fort.

I hear to-day that, when M. Dubois was removed from the *Commissaire's* place and M. Fumel appointed instead, with orders for his accounts to be examined by the council, and when M. Dure the commander of the troops was replaced by M. Landivisiau, Fumel replied, 'You do not listen to anybody's advice, nor are you intelligent yourself. What was the extent of the country and the strength

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<sup>1</sup> 31st Âvuni, Vikrama.



of the army on your arrival? Because you do not listen to others' advice and have not sense of your own, you have lost Bundur, etc. countries, and allowed the English to advance up to the Bound-hedge. And now, you entrust the management to me. Be pleased henceforth to listen to others' advice about the management.' I hear some Europeans say that these words of M. Fumel made him<sup>1</sup> so angry that M. Fumel has been sent away in arrest by the frigate *Baleine* and the management given again to M. Dubois.

The English occupy the ground from the Uppâru bridge opposite to the Valudâvûr gate to the bank where *tulasi* plants grow in my garden, the cattle-shed of Chandramati Pillai, the high ground where a light stands in Sâram, and Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry. The French troops are in the tamarind tope opposite to the Villiyanallûr gate. Neither side has opened fire, but I hear that two Pariahs, who wanted to remove the materials of their houses at Sâram, have been shot by the English. I also hear that two troopers have brought the news that our troops at Gingee have marched to Pâdirâppuliyûr.

*Saturday, September 13.*<sup>2</sup>—When I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning and was

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Lally.

<sup>2</sup> 1st Purattâsi, Vikrama.

waiting at the sorting-godown, Kandappa Mudali came to me and said, 'Madame Barthélemy, Madame Febvrier and other European ladies are getting passports to go away with their children.' I am also trying to send my children along with them.' Just then a chobdar came and said that the Governor wanted me. I went and he said, 'What do you say about the large number of people in the town?'—'What do I know?' I replied, 'and what need I tell you when you know everything? What is your pleasure?'—'Then, tell the people to go out,' he said. 'Yes,' I replied, 'but people say, "We went out in *Chittirai* and *Vaigâsi*," only two or three days before the English occupied the Bounds; but then it was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that, in future, there would be no more troubles from the English, and that, unless those who had gone out returned, they would be fined and their houses seized by the Company. Then an alarm was raised by making a list of the houses, so we returned, in obedience to the orders." Now that the English

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<sup>1</sup> They did not succeed in getting passports till November. On 5 November Lally wrote to Coote, "I have two or three women that plague me to intercede for them to you, neither can I give them my positive answer until I know whether it suits you to grant their request." (Orme MSS. *India* viii, 2034.) The ladies concerned were Mesdames Delarche, Jcannis, de Nouäl, and Febvrier. Madame Barthélemy does not appear among them.

<sup>2</sup> April-May and May-June.

are at the Bound-hedge, they complain and ask how they can go now when you desire them to? Now they can only go out if you give them passports. Thereby you will earn everlasting glory, for they will praise you saying that, so long as they remained in the town, you protected them well, but that, when the enemy was about to attack it, you gave them passports and sent them out without any loss or trouble to them.'—'I can't give them passports now,' he replied. I answered, 'Please mention this in the course of your conversation with M. Lally, or if you cannot do this, tell M. Dubois to speak to M. Lally about this, and get them the passports.'—'Then tell me how many are in the town,' he said. I replied, 'About 4,000 or 5,000 have come into the town from Muttiyâlpêttai, Karukudikuppam, Pakkumudaiyâmpattu, Sâram, Nellitope, Ariyânkuppam, Villiyanallûr, etc. places and there are another 4,000 or 5,000 who are residents of the town—10,000 in all. Besides there are about 4,000 or 5,000 Pariah men and women. There are two Pariah men and two Pariah women with each soldier. The Pariah women live upon the food given to the soldiers, in other words, the provisions in the town are being eaten up by Pariah men and women, who should be driven out in the suitable manner. Formerly when the town

was surrounded by the English, M. Dupleix was very bold ; and now your bravery should lead to victory.' He then blamed M. Lally for everything. I explained everything to him from nine o'clock to eleven and sent for the Nayinâr, whom on his appearance I took before the Governor and ordered him to consult the *nâttârs* of the several castes and give a list of the persons in the town. Then I came home and sending for the *nâttârs* gave orders to them.

Fifty soldiers and 30 masons blew up the walls of the Ariyânkuppam fort last night.

It was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom yesterday that the inhabitants of Kosappâlaiyam, Muttiyâlpêttai and Nellitopo might break up their houses and go out, so all have gone out accordingly. Some left the town to-day, and many more will leave it to-morrow or the day after.

On the approach of the English ships, about ten guns were fired to-day from the sea-wall battery and the ships near the shore, whereon the [English] captains put out to sea again.

M. Courtin summoned the *mahânâttârs* and told them to engage to-day 80 or 100 earth-diggers. The *mahânâttârs* replied, 'How can we do that? Have we ever engaged men before? It is usual to give money to the

*Arumpâtai* who will engage them ; or the *Nayinâr's* men will do the business. We cannot therefore engage them now.' He threatened them that, unless they brought the people, they would be shut up in the dungeon or dealt with in such and such a manner. They replied that they could do nothing about it and that he must do to them what he pleased.

*Sunday, September 14.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort at nine o'clock this morning, M. Leyrit and M. Guiffard were talking. I was told that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he asked if people were going out. I replied, 'You said only yesterday that they should go out. When they went two or three days ago, they were troubled on the way, so they returned. But as you have now permitted them to go, some went yesterday, and about 1,000 are ready to go to-day. In two or three days all the people will have gone.' Then he asked how much paddy could be had in the town. I replied, 'No paddy can be had here. Many lived by pounding the Company's paddy. Those who left the town a week or ten days ago, did so after selling their paddy, while those who purchased a little have already consumed it. I have already told you

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<sup>1</sup> *2nd Purattâsi, Vikrama.*

about this. Even now there are 200 or 300 houses, the inmates of which have paddy enough for 15 or 20 days ; and there are 10 or 15 houses [in which there may be paddy for forty or fifty days].’ M. Guillard said that there would not be much in the Tamils’ houses. ‘Is that so?’ he asked. He then asked about other matters and I replied to him.

Afterwards Kandappa Mudali suggested asking the Governor for passports. I replied that we should not be the first to ask him, for that would be like scratching one’s head with a fire-brand. ‘In that case,’ he said, ‘I shall ask him in private.’ Then I and M. Guillard came out. Kandappa Mudali went in and said, ‘Formerly when we wanted to go out, you prevented us, but now desire us to go at a dangerous time. The English are compelling those who have gone out to pay 100 or 200. They may also seize me if I go out and demand so much because I serve so and so. But how can I pay them? Please therefore get me an English passport.’—‘I do not care whether you go or remain. I can’t tell you anything,’ he replied stamping angrily. Kandappa Mudali came and reported this to me. I replied, ‘It is no use to ask this man. If you go and ask M. Lally, he may get you a passport. You had better try with him.

Kandappa Mudali agreed and requested me to speak to M. Guillard on his behalf. I replied that I could not open the subject at all, for M. Leyrit [had said that he could do nothing in the matter], but that M. Courtin might be approached for help. Thereon he slipped away fearing what he might be told. I then came home.

I heard this evening that at about seven on the night of the 31st *Ávani*,<sup>1</sup> the English had captured the fort of Gingee and that therefore Haidar Nâyakkan's army and our men had retired to Tyâgadrug.<sup>2</sup>

'Alî Khân who has obtained a *parwâna* for the Vriddhachalam jaghir and the capture of Tiruviti, etc. Panchmahals, Chidambaram and other places with the help of proper *sibbandis* came to me this evening, and, having taken leave, departed with a few Europeans.

I despatched the man of the Râjâ of Kadattanâd in Malabar with a reply. I also despatched M. Leyrit, the Governor's reply to M. Louët at Mahé.

The Gingee fortifications were captured and plundered on the night of the 31st *Ávani*, *Pramôdûta*.<sup>3</sup> News of its capture was received at about nine o'clock on the 1st *Purattâsi*, and

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<sup>1</sup> September 12.

<sup>2</sup> The news was false. Gingee was not taken till after the fall of Pcndichery.

<sup>3</sup> September 12, 1750.

for ten years the fort has been in our possession. But there is another report that Gingee has not been captured, so the news of its fall must be false.

*Monday, September 15.*<sup>1</sup>—I went to the Fort this morning. M. Leyrit had gone to M. du Bausset's house where he was conferring with M. Courtin, M. Moracin, etc. councillors—five or six councillors in all. No Europeans were in the Fort. I therefore went to the custom-house and remained there.

Many of the townspeople went out to-day by the custom-house; about three-quarters to the northward and the remaining quarter to the southward. Some of those who went southwards were assisted by our people at the mouth of the river with chelingas, but others waded through the water. When people were thus departing in large numbers, five or six English troopers who saw them, told them that they need not go by the Beach but could pass without fear by the usual road. So they went up the bank of the Pennâr. But as the Pennâr was full, and 12 English chelingas were plying constantly from Cuddalore with powder and shot, our people could not cross the river and reach the opposite shore. They suffered much and almost starved, not being

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<sup>1</sup> 3rd Purattâsi, Vikrama.



able to get even a handful of rice; some of those who went northwards also suffered, having been plundered of their goods. Thus 4,000 or 5,000 inhabitants have left the town to-day. Kandappa Mudali, Periyanna Mudali, Sônâchala Pillai and others including myself, five or six in all, regretted that we could not get passports even at the cost of 1,000 or 2,000 for the passage of our children, lamenting that our attempts for the last five or six days had been in vain, and that we must wait till to-morrow to learn the result of our further attempts. Then I came home.

*Tuesday, September 16.*<sup>1</sup>—When I went to the Fort this morning, I heard that at midnight M. Lally had sent word to M. Leyrit by M. Gadeville that M. Courtin was not to interfere in the Choultry justice, but that he would himself visit the Choultry and enquire into the Choultry affairs to-morrow. This order is said to have been given because M. Courtin told M. Lally, when the latter asked for 15,000 rupees for the expenses, that he had nothing as he had given away all he had in Bengal. M. Lally replied, ‘You have done great injustice by inflicting a thousand stripes [*torn*], tying and beating a Chetti and interfering in his affair instead of allowing him to settle his dispute

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<sup>1</sup> 4th Purattâsi, Vikrama.

as usual among the Chettis themselves, simply for the sake of bribes from them. How can you do so? But as you have so done, you must have collected large sums, which I shall order the soldiers to collect from you.' M. Courtin replied, 'I have not collected a cash as you say; but, if you will prove your charge, I will submit to any punishment you may award.'—'I will have you hanged,' M. Lally rejoined, 'and make you pay the money you have made.' Certain Europeans reported this to me, adding that that was the reason why M. Courtin had not been allowed to enquire into the Choultry business.

M. Pouly sent a man to M. Leyrit this morning with a message that M. Lally was going to attend the Choultry-court, and that he had ordered one of the silver-plated velvet-seated chairs to be sent there. M. Leyrit smiled and permitted the man to take one. He took it accordingly. M. Lally sent word to M. Panon and others that he was going to the Choultry-court.

When I went to M. Leyrit, he was talking with M. Guillard, M. Duplant and M. La Grenée. I paid my respects and said, 'Four or five English [troopers with a flag] told our people who went southwards yesterday that as the Pennâr was full, they should not go by Cuddalore, but take the road westwards. But

those who went accordingly could not proceed, as the Pennâr was full, and starved all yesterday for want of food or rice. I hear that some will be unable to survive to-night.'—'Is it so?' he said. I then observed, in the presence of Kandappa Mudali and Sônâchala Pillai, 'I have sent out those members of my family who can go. But my daughters, sons and sons-in-law are here, and I have fixed an auspicious time for their departure. As they are not accustomed to walk, they must be sent in vehicles. I intend sending them out, about two or three together in a vehicle.' Thus I spoke on my behalf and on behalf of Kandappa Mudali, Sônâchala Pillai and four or five others. Kandappa Mudali said, 'It is true, sir; I also have sent away my family except my father, mother and sons.' Sônâchala Pillai said the same. M. Leyrit remained silent throughout, but shook himself like an elephant where he stood. M. Guillard said that we were well-advised to have sent them away, to which Kandappa Mudali said, 'See, sir, he said nothing to what we said, for fear that we should make requests if he opened his lips.' I said, 'I have reported that I have sent away some, and am only waiting for an opportunity to send away others. I have asked for a passport in the presence of four councillors.'

Kandappa Mudali said, 'I hear that Sônâ-chala Pillai had a talk yesterday with the Bishop Padré who promised to try his best and finish the affair by mentioning it to M. Lally to-morrow.' When I was leaving for my house at eleven o'clock after this conversation, I was told that M. Lally had gone to the Bishop's house after attending the Choultry-court, and that M. Panon and M. de Nouäl who had accompanied M. Lally had been told to inform me that M. Lally desired to see me. When I asked them why I was wanted, they replied that it was about removing the paddy belonging to those who had left the town.

I went to M. Lally's house accordingly. M. Panon and M. de Nouäl came first and then M. Lally to whom I paid my respects. M. Lally returned my compliments by taking off his hat and then went in. I was not summoned for about half an hour—I suppose because he was sending for glasses and drinking wine. Then M. Panon and I went in. I was at once told that I and the Nayinâr must find and deliver in 30 garse of paddy in the town. Although I feared what he might say if I contradicted him, I said, 'So much paddy cannot be had in the town ; some live by pounding the Company's paddy ; and, as even this has been stopped, many have gone away for want of food. At the most, grain enough for 15 days' use may

be found in 100 or 200 houses, but not more.'—'Unless 30 garse are got,' he said 'soldiers will break open the houses.'—'That they have done already,' I replied. 'I will drive out every Tamil,' he continued. 'Even without that,' I replied, '4,000 or 5,000 went out yesterday ; and the few who remain will also go. The matter cannot be settled by such means. The tom-tom should be ordered to beat directing the inhabitants to declare the amount of paddy in their houses and proclaiming that those who do not declare it, shall have their houses and property confiscated by the Company, or be otherwise punished suitably. Then all would make declarations, and everything would be known.'—'Have the proclamation made by tom-tom accordingly,' he said. It was then half-past twelve, so I came home. On my way I was desired by M. Panon to visit him in the evening.

I went to M. Panon in the evening and asked him to have the tom-tom beaten. He said that people should be told to deliver their paddy at the Choultry in three days and give in statements, after which each man should receive paddy according to his position, and the remainder be taken. Afterwards we talked about several other affairs. He then said, 'Affairs cannot prosper when the gentleman

at the head of things manages ill.' I took leave of him at seven and came home.

This day, Tuesday the 4th, M. Lally ordered paddy to be collected, and himself administered justice at the Choultry. The results will appear on the 12th or the 13th.<sup>1</sup> From what M. Lally did to-day, I think no Tamils will long remain here, for about a quarter of the number that left the town yesterday, went out to-day.

*Wednesday, September 17.*<sup>2</sup>—I hear that, when those who were going out had crossed the arm of the sea, a few men on the English side told them that they might go freely by the regular road but that, when our people went accordingly, they were surrounded by some sepoys, who seized all they had, so that those following them avoided crossing the inlet, and others who have been robbed of what they had, and beaten, have returned to Pondichery, and that some who have returned are by the inlet and others are returning to the town.

When I asked M. Leyrit, the Governor, to get me an English passport to enable my women and children to go out, he replied that he could not, and that I must do what I could about it. I therefore asked M. General Lally

<sup>1</sup> i.e., September 24 or 25.

<sup>2</sup> 5th Purattāsi, Vikrama.

through the Bishop Padré ; but the former replied that he could not write about it, and that I must manage for myself. I decided therefore to-night no longer to allow my women and children to remain here, and to send Sôlaya Pillai, Tiruppali Krishna Pillai, Venkatêsan and Venkatâchalam to Madras to see Muttukrishnama Mudali, Vasavappa Chetti and other respectable men and merchants about a passport, and to bring it here.

*Thursday, September 18.*<sup>1</sup>—Those people who went southwards by the inlet of the sea but who returned, having been robbed of their goods this side of the inlet, are giving written declarations at the Choultry about the grain in their houses according to the notifications made by tom-tom yesterday and to-day. I have also given one about the grain in my house.

*Friday, September 19.*<sup>2</sup>—There is no important news to-day.

*Saturday, September 20.*<sup>3</sup>—The Thâthans<sup>4</sup> set out to-day northwards for Tirupati, beating drums and gongs, and a few others have gone with them.

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<sup>1</sup> 6th Purattâsi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> 7th Purattâsi, Vikrama.

<sup>3</sup> 8th Purattâsi, Vikrama.

<sup>4</sup> See Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, vol. vii, p. 27.

*Sunday, September 21.*<sup>1</sup>—The Nayinâr came and reported to me that M. de Nouäl had ordered him to be ready at three o'clock (the time of his coming) with the merchants, the *nâttârs*, officials, etc., in the town. 'Do so,' I replied. All came at three o'clock as ordered—the Nayinâr, the Choultry-writers, *nâttârs*, inhabitants, merchants, Periyanna Mudali and others still here. M. de Nouäl also came at three. He and I<sup>2</sup> after examining the list that had been written said, 'M. Lally says that 100 garse of paddy must be delivered, or else all will be driven out and everything they have plundered. What do you say?' They replied that he might have what remained over after reserving enough for 20 days for themselves. This was discussed till six o'clock. He then said that, as M. Lally General Avargal had ordered, all should sign an agreement to supply 30 garse or 60 garse of paddy.<sup>3</sup> But they would not agree and went away. M. de Nouäl also departed.

I sent Sôlaiyappan, Tiruppali Krishnan, Venkatêsan, and Venkatâchalam to-day to Madras to obtain a passport.

*Monday, September 22.*<sup>4</sup>—Kondappa Chetti came to-day and said, 'An Englishman, who

<sup>1</sup> 9th Purattâsi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> Ranga Pillai, I suppose, interpreted the other's speech.

<sup>3</sup> 60 garse of paddy would yield about 30 garse of rice.

<sup>4</sup> 10th Purattâsi, Vikrama.



is a prisoner here, has obtained an English passport and is sailing for Madras by masula boat. All the inhabitants are sending their goods. I will send your things, if any, saying that they are mine.' I said I would do as he desired. I then asked if the Englishman was a gentleman. He replied, 'He is an officer and a Christian. We may tell an official at the Beach to send the goods, giving out that they are his.'—'Very well,' I replied, 'go and consult him and then report to me.'

*Tuesday, September 23.*<sup>1</sup>—There is no important news to-day.

*Wednesday, September 24.*<sup>2</sup>—Kônappa [*sic*] Chetti came to me at five o'clock this evening and said, 'Sloper,<sup>3</sup> the French prisoner who has obtained an English passport, is sailing at six o'clock by a chelinga which he has got. I spoke to M. Valarmée about the affair you mentioned. He told me to send the box to his house at once and he would have it landed at Sadras. He added that, if it was sent at once, he would send it by this boat.' As I could send nothing out by land in the present state of affairs, as I was arranging to send away the women and children, as this European was going with an English passport, so that he

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<sup>1</sup> 11th Purattāsi, Vikrama.

<sup>2</sup> 12th Purattāsi, Vikrama.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. xi, p. 191.

would not be suspected, and as some Tamils and packer Tiruvêngadam were said to be going with their goods, all these inclined me to accept the proposal in view of the nature of the times, so I asked, 'Are you also going?' He replied, 'I am not sure, for I wish to go with my women and children, but if you want me to go, I will go. But you need not hesitate, and had better send the box and your people.' As I could think of no better course, I called Chiranjîvi Appâvu and said, 'As this man says so and so, a redwood box containing everything, is in the great chest. Get it ready and send it off.' Kondappa Chetti said, 'It is about six now, so send everything at once. I will go ahead and speak to the European about despatching everything.' He then went away, after I had told him to arrange for the speedy despatch. Kâlathi Ammâl's<sup>1</sup> goods and some rupees were put in nine bags and Lakshmi Ammâl's goods in two chests. These were locked up, bound about with ropes and sealed with my ring engraved with Persian, and the keys were given to Ponmalai Pillai. I also sent Kastûri Chetti in the boat with Ponmalai Pillai, with orders to land the chests at Sadras, where they were to get a great chest from Mattu Venkatâchala Chetti, put the other chests in

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<sup>1</sup> Wife of Tiruvêngada Pillai, the Diarist's younger brother.

it, and remain there. These two set out with the boxes at six o'clock. Afterwards some packets of coral and a figure of the *Uma*<sup>1</sup> bird set with precious stones, (which had not been put in), were given to Subbarâman with instructions to give them to Ponmalai Pillai and Kastûri Chetti and to inform me of their having actually sailed. Kandan was also instructed to accompany them with Chiranjîvi Kulandai's goods and money from Muttu's house sealed up in a bag. Subrahmanyam [*sic*] returned at half-past seven and said that Ponmalai Pillai and Kastûri Chetti had sailed by the boat fully laden with my chests and others' goods, that packer Tiruvêngadam had also set sail and that some chests and packages belonging to certain Europeans and Tamils had been left behind.

Till now I have been under the influence of the *Apasavya* sign, according to the predictions, so that I and the town as that influence drew to an end have been in trouble. Either a new Governor with reinforcements must come to save the town or I must leave it. I have only waited to see what signs of the future course of events appeared by the 12th *Purattâsi*; as I expected, my goods have been sent away to-day. At the end of the influence of the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilks, vol. i, p. 261 and n.

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*Apasavya* sign everything should be settled. The influence of the *Savya* sign begins on the 21st of *Panguni*<sup>1</sup> and my fortune thereafter is to be seen by actual experience.

Yesterday Panon and Gôpâlakrishna Ayyan were removed and M. Guillard was entrusted with the management.

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<sup>1</sup> March 30, 1761.

## JANUARY 1761.

*Saturday, January 10.*<sup>1</sup>—At six o'clock this morning, Ellâchiya Pillai (M. Leyrit's dubâsh) came and said to Mahârâja Râjasrî Pillai Avargal [that Chinna Mudali had arranged last night to send his family away, that a chelinga should be got ready, and that he wanted a letter. So I went to the Fort to hire a boat; there Chinna Mudali told me that the chelinga had not yet sailed but that it would to-night. Afterwards I went to M. Valarmée and requested him to procure a chelinga large enough to hold many. He replied, 'A chelinga like that won't do. Even if M. Lally gives an order for another boat, there are no *makwas*'<sup>2</sup>]<sup>3</sup>. So I went to the Beach to make enquiries. M. Flacourt was there preparing the chelinga which is to sail to-night, but he said that not one could be despatched. I then met a ship's pilot who was enquiring the price of chelingas in order to sail with some Europeans, and offered to

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<sup>1</sup> *1st Tai, Vikrama.* From this date onwards the diary appears to have been written, not by Ranga Pillai himself, but by another, perhaps Ranga Pillai's nephew who continued to keep a diary after Ranga Pillai's death.

<sup>2</sup> Fishermen.

<sup>3</sup> The passage placed between square brackets is much damaged in the original, but the meaning seems clear.

find the cost of a chelinga besides other expenses and having arranged for eight sailors and only 4 or 5 persons to follow. But, when I reported this to Mahârâja Râjasrî Pillai Avargal, he replied that in his present state of health, it would kill him to sail by the chelinga, that arrangements should be made for him to travel by road, that therefore a chelinga need not be engaged, and that the European concerned in this should be informed without delay. When I went to the Beach in search of the European at three o'clock after having taken food, I found him south of the Fort. He said, 'I consulted those who were accompanying me ; and as you were coming, I sent away many in order to avoid overcrowding, arranged for the price of the chelinga and only four persons to follow, and asked for M. Lally's orders. But M. Lally said that, as there was no other chelinga, it could not be taken, as there would be difficulties on the arrival of ships. So the journey has been stopped.' I came home after giving the necessary orders.

*Sunday, January 11.*<sup>1</sup>—[Mahârâja Râjasrî Pillai Avargal rose in the morning and cleaned his teeth, and, sitting on a chair in the hall, talked for about two hours and then lay

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<sup>1</sup> 2nd Tai, Vikrama.

down. Having awakened at eleven, he called us and said, 'I feel very weak but I do not know why. How is my breathing?'—'As usual,' we replied, 'but you are very weak from taking no food and from an excess of humours of the body.'] When we were thus talking, some Europeans came to cut down the coconut trees in my house and my neighbour Muttu Pillai's. I spoke kind words to them, gave them a few rupees and posted men to see that the trees did not fall upon the roof.

At one o'clock in the afternoon Mahârâja Râjasrî Pillai Avargal took a little food, and then lay down. In the evening he said that he felt much fatigued, that he could not sleep, and that his tongue was dry and he felt thirsty. I said that a *karukku*<sup>1</sup> would be prepared. He agreed, and took the *karukku* at eight o'clock at night. He called us again at ten and saying that the *karukku* had not quenched his thirst, asked if he could not have some water. I said that he had better not, but that another dose of the *karukku* would do him good. He agreed and ordered it to be brought. We therefore prepared a fresh *karukku* and gave it to him. Again he complained of thirst and asked for some cold water. I replied that he should not drink that but eat

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<sup>1</sup> The expression means an extract or strained liquor prepared by boiling medicinal drugs in water.

some nut. He answered that as his mouth was dry, he could not chew it. I said that he might have some warm water in about an hour. 'Very well,' he said, and continued, 'I want to answer the calls of nature, so order the commode.' It was accordingly brought and placed in the veranda. He answered the calls of nature, washed his legs and then sat on a chair. I cannot describe how this fatigued him. He called us and said, 'I thought I should die on the stool for I felt a burning pain round the anus. But does a person at the point of death feel like that? I think it must be due to extreme heat.' He then lay down telling us to make further enquiries about it. Afterwards he said at two o'clock that his tongue was parched, that he was thirsty and very tired, and that he thought he would die. He then asked what we thought of his condition. I replied that I thought that coldness had set in and that therefore he should take *bhûpati* or *chintâmani*.<sup>1</sup> 'Well get them ready,' he replied. As I had no good honey, I thought I could get it from Sêshâchala Chetti's house

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<sup>1</sup> Elaborate and costly medicines familiar to the Tamil School of Indian Medicine. The first, for instance, is said to be compounded of gold, zinc, pearl, diamond, coral, topaz, emerald, sulphur, mercury and several other ingredients. From information courteously furnished by Mr. G. Srinivâsamûrti, Principal of the Government School of Indian Medicine at Madras.



to-morrow morning, but meanwhile I would give him [what we had]. So I had a mixture made of honey and cloves, and took it to him. He then asked me the time. I said it was about five. He then said that we might put aside the medicine and wait till day-break when Sêshâchala Chetti might be sent for and asked to feel his pulse.

*Monday, January 12.*<sup>1</sup>—After sunrise this morning I asked Mahârâja Râjasrî Pillai Avargal if Mutta Pillai of the hospital and Sêshâchala Chetti might be sent for. ‘Very well, send for them,’ he replied. I sent men to fetch them. He continued, ‘I feel much better than last night. Let me clean my teeth.’ So saying he sat on a chair in the hall and cleaned his teeth. Vêlan came and said that Mutta Pillai of the hospital had gone away five or six days ago. Seeing that Sêshâchala Chetti was coming, he said that nothing need be said to him except that he was arranging for palankin-bearers to bring him to his house. Sêshâchala Chetti then came and sitting on a chair asked him if he had taken his food last night to which he replied that he had, and then, stretching out his hand, asked him to feel his pulse. He said he could not feel it. ‘Is that so?’ he replied; ‘palan-

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<sup>1</sup> 3rd Tai, Vikrama.

kin-bearers are coming to take me to your house. You had better go soon, and make a cot, etc., ready.' So saying he dismissed him. He went away saying that he would do accordingly. After he had gone, he said, 'What is the use of telling him anything when he does not know how to feel the pulse? Send for some other who can.' When I made enquiries, I learnt that Saravana Mudali knew a little ; but when I sent a man to fetch him, I was told that he had gone to the European quarter. He then sent for [lost] and showing his tongue said, 'Look at my tongue. [Lost] has subsided. The dryness of the tongue has also abated a little ; I shall take some medicine.' I replied, 'However, it will be better to take the medicine prepared last night.'—'Of what use is it?' he answered. 'Will a dying man recover by the mere taking of a medicine or die by not taking it? Let me see later on.' So saying, he lay down.

Chinna [?] Mudali came at ten o'clock and said, 'I shall leave my family outside and return. If a letter is given to me addressed to Chidambaranâtha Pillai, it can be given to him so that arrangements may be made on the way by his men or others and I may return to-morrow afternoon.' I reported this to Pillai Avargal. He said that a letter might be written to Chidambaranâtha Pillai saying,

‘ You have paid no attention in spite of my having sent many men to you. You may not see me hereafter.’ He told me to write such a peremptory letter and have it despatched. I wrote one and brought it to him for his signature. He got up and sat, ordered the two doors to be opened, and putting on his glasses, signed it, adding, ‘ This must be considered my last letter.’ I read the letter and wondering why he wrote so, put it in a cover and gave it to Saravana [?] Mudali to be despatched. Afterwards [his] body was very<sup>1</sup>[  
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<sup>1</sup> Here the diary breaks off in the middle of a sentence and the subsequent pages are blank.

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## APPENDIX.

(See above, page 36, n. 3.)

LETTER FROM CALL TO DRAPER, 15TH JULY, 1760 (NEW-CASTLE MSS., BRIT. MUS., ADD. MSS. 32908, F. 299, ETC.),

“ . . . The conquest of Karikal I had an eye on, and had been making the necessary enquiries of its strength. The arrival of Mr. Cornish with six ships about the latter end of February was a lucky circumstance, and put us in a condition to attempt Karikal without weakening the Army while Colonel Coote proceeded therewith to attack Waldour and block up Pondicherry by land. Some opposition was at first made to this plan, in which jealousy had its share, but on the 24th March Major Monson embarked to command the siege, Barker the Artillery, and I with 50 Pioneers as engineer. These with seven gunners were all the troops we had, but 100 military, 40 artillery and 1,000 sepoy were to join us from Terichnapoly and invest the place if possible before our arrival. Guns, mortars and ammunition we had shipped aboard in plenty. By favourable winds we got into the road of Karikal the 28th in the morning, and sent to Nagapatam and Tranquebar to learn advice of Joseph and Dick Smith with the garrison of Terichnapoly. Everybody on the Coast was ignorant of them and surpriz'd to see us. Monson was willing to lose no time and therefore resolved to land directly, though we had no one thing or convenience for subsisting. Accordingly on the same day at five in the evening 296 Marines and the Pioneers were embarked in boats, and we all pushed on shore about 4 miles to the northward of Karikal, luckily without opposition. Thus landed without baggage, coolies, or even an interpreter, and with troops wholly unacquainted with land service, we marched

close to the sea in the dark to within one mile of the place, where Barker landed on a catamaran with two rascally 3-pounders on old truck carriages, taken out of a country snow. Contrivances were invented to furnish cartridges and grape, and at last we made 60 rounds, got ropes to drag the guns, and appointed 30 or 40 Marines to that service. As soon as day-light discovered our situation, and the bound-hedge about a mile to our front, Major Monson marched with his noble artillery and the Marines towards the town, whilst the Engineers remained with the Pioneers to support him in case of need. Having no hircars or guides, he happened to fall in at once with a strong brick redoubt, which defended the north part of the town, and received some shot, but wheeling quickly to the left he took the advantage of a bank and entered a grand street without opposition or firing more than one shot to let the enemy know he had cannon. He marched down the street he had entered till he came to a church where he took post within 500 yards of the fort, and sent orders to me to march along the sea-side and take post at the flag-staff and marine-storehouses which were about 600 yards to the eastward of the fort, and the fort is, I believe, at the distance of a mile and a half from the sea. This was easily effected and the colours taken, so that by 10 o'clock we were lodged on the north and east of the fort with no greater loss than 3 men killed and one wounded. Provisions were luckily found in the town, which was large and the best-built I have seen in India; but we had no lascars, sepoy or the necessary black attendants, and we were hardly superior to the garrison, which we could only invest on two sides. The redoubt called Fort Dauphin was very troublesome in our rear; we therefore determined to bombard it, and accordingly threw in about a dozen 10-inch shells the 30th at night, on which the garrison abandoned it and retired to Fort St. Lewis. This opened our communications with the country, but still we had many difficulties and no small apprehensions of

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ships appearing in the offing, which would have obliged Mr. Cornish to embark his Marines and leave us. Nothing however could abate the resolution of Major Monson, who determined to supply by a good face and hard duty the want of force, in which Barker and I did all we could to second him, for he had no soul else who knew the least of service. Luckily I had brought some fascines and pickets in a country vessel for fear of accidents, and with them my Pioneers and I begun a battery the 30th at night for four 18-pounders. The 1st of April in the morning we began to entertain the enemy with a few ricochet and plunging shot by way of amusement, and being joined the 2nd by some sepoy, and the 3rd by the Nabob and the Terichnapoly garrison, we invested the place all round that night. I worked hard at three batteries of three 24-pounders each, to breach a face in each bastion of the front attacked and destroy the intermediate ravelin ; the 4th we opened one battery and by night with the four 18-pounders and three 24-pounders we had breached one bastion and dismounted many guns. The 5th we had another battery ready to open. . . .

[On which Monson summoned the place which surrendered. It mounted 94 guns, and should have defended itself for a month at least.]

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